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Published in Jerusalem • צא לאור בירושלים

Waiting for Shultz to break deadlock

In spite of the concern in Israel over indications that Lebanon is hardening its position in the negotiations, and the tension with Syria, Jerusalem will make no new decisions until this week's visit here of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

Diplomatic sources in Jerusalem said over the weekend that in view of the tension in the area, the visit of Shultz is seen as highly important, and that there are hopes that he will attempt to advance the stalemated negotiations with Lebanon.

It is expected that Shultz will clarify in his talks with the leaders of neighbouring countries, including Syria, what the Syrian position will be when and if an agreement is achieved between Israel and Lebanon.

Shultz's forthcoming visit overshadows all other events in the area at the present, and according to several political sources, there is a likelihood that the secretary will shuttle several times between Beirut and Jerusalem to bring about an agreement.

This belief is based on statements by President Ronald Reagan on Friday when he announced Shultz's visit and the need for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

Israel Radio reported that a "top official" in Israel has welcomed Reagan's statement that Middle East peace negotiations need not include the PLO.

The official was also quoted as saying he hoped Reagan's comments reflected a new assessment of the PLO's mid-east role.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak over the weekend publicly disagreed with Reagan on the status of the PLO, saying it was the sole

representative of the Palestinian people.

In announcing Shultz's mission, Reagan said that "his primary purpose will be to bring to a successful conclusion the negotiations in Lebanon. We are hopeful that an agreement between Lebanon and Israel can soon be included under terms which provide for the security of the borders. I must stress that until all foreign forces are out of Lebanon, that country cannot assert its sovereignty and begin real reconstruction. These are basic goals of our Middle East policy."

Political sources in Jerusalem said that the statements made by Lebanese President Amin Gemayel in a meeting with editors in Beirut over the weekend reflect the hardening of the Lebanese position, which the Israeli delegation to the negotiations had already felt last Thursday in Halde. Gemayel vowed not to sign any agreement that would allow Israeli troops to maintain a military force in Lebanon.

Last Friday, Defence Minister Avne Arens and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir met with the Israeli negotiating team to review developments. Reliable sources said that no new decisions were made, and that Israel sticks to its previous position on the controversial issues, namely the future status of South Lebanon militia commander Maj. Sa'ad Haddad and the participation of UNIFIL in the security arrangements in the south.

The sources said Israel would make it clear to Shultz that it is essential that the security arrangements in Southern Lebanon guarantee that it will be impossible for the PLO to re-establish a military infrastructure there that would be aimed against Israel.

The hardening of the Lebanese (Continued on next page.)



Chief of Staff Rav-Ahuf (lieut.-gen.) Moshé Levy receives his new insignia last week from Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defence Minister Moshe Arens (left), as outgoing chief of staff Rafael Eitan looks on. Levy, a resident of Kibbutz Beit Alpha, was born in Tel Aviv in 1936. He served in various army command positions, and was appointed deputy chief of staff last year. Begin praised Eitan as "one of our most glorious soldiers, not only in this generation."



An Israeli soldier guards Checkpoint Sofar on the Beirut-Damascus highway, the crossing point closest to Syrian lines.

Israel denies any plan to fight Syria, takes precautions against attack

Talk of renewed warfare with Syria is "entirely official, and we have absolutely no intention of attacking Syria," Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said on Friday.

Syria, he warned, "would not reap glory" if it opened hostilities against Israel. "Syria is aware of this, and so are her allies," Shamir said.

Damascus last week responded to Israeli fears of Syrian military intentions in Lebanon by accusing Israel of preparing the ground for an attack on Syria.

State-run Damascus Radio said that Israel is holding provocative military exercises in the Golan Heights while reinforcing its troops in eastern Lebanon — all in preparation for an imminent attack on Syria.

Syria has charged a few times in

recent months that Israel is preparing for an offensive against its forces in Lebanon, presumably in a bid to remove Damascus's veto over any far-reaching agreement emerging in the talks with Lebanon.

Syria has reportedly been strengthening its forces in the Bekaa, particularly since the onset of spring.

Yet it would seem that Syria has no obvious cause to initiate hostilities at this particular time.

Prospects for a far-reaching Israeli agreement with Lebanon that would take that country into what Syria would regard as an intolerable special relationship with Israel have greatly receded, with last week's tripartite talks in Halde revealing — according to Lebanese sources — that even Israel's minimal security demands in South

Lebanon are meeting with still Lebanese opposition.

Defence Minister Moshe Arens said last week that "certain military preparations are under way in Syria, but it is not clear to us whether they are offensive or defensive in nature."

Briefing the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Arens said the military activity in question might be "in preparation for war" but might also reflect Syrian apprehension "of an Israeli operation."

The minister revealed that 4,000 Soviet technicians are stationed in Syria, where there had been 2,500 of them before the Lebanon operation started last June.

Arens said: "The Soviet Union is trying to rebuild and re-equip the Syrian army. But we have no way of

knowing whether the Soviet Union has the wish or the power to keep the Syrians on a leash."

The Israel Defence Forces have been instructed to follow events closely.

Analysts agreed with Arens that it is not clear whether the Syrian movements are offensive or defensive, but pointed to the danger in possible escalation generated by the dynamic of military movement, and to the danger of a misreading of intention by one or both of the parties.

Israeli spokesmen, like Arens and Shamir, have both officially stated that Israel has no intention of aggressive action against Syria. But, in one recent official statement Arens added that if conflict should break out, Israel will determine the conditions and the scale. His statement was obviously intended to convey the message that Israel has no intention of being drawn into a war of attrition with Syria, and that the Syrians should not have any illusions about

(Continued on next page.)

NEWSSTAND PRICES IN LOCAL CURRENCY			
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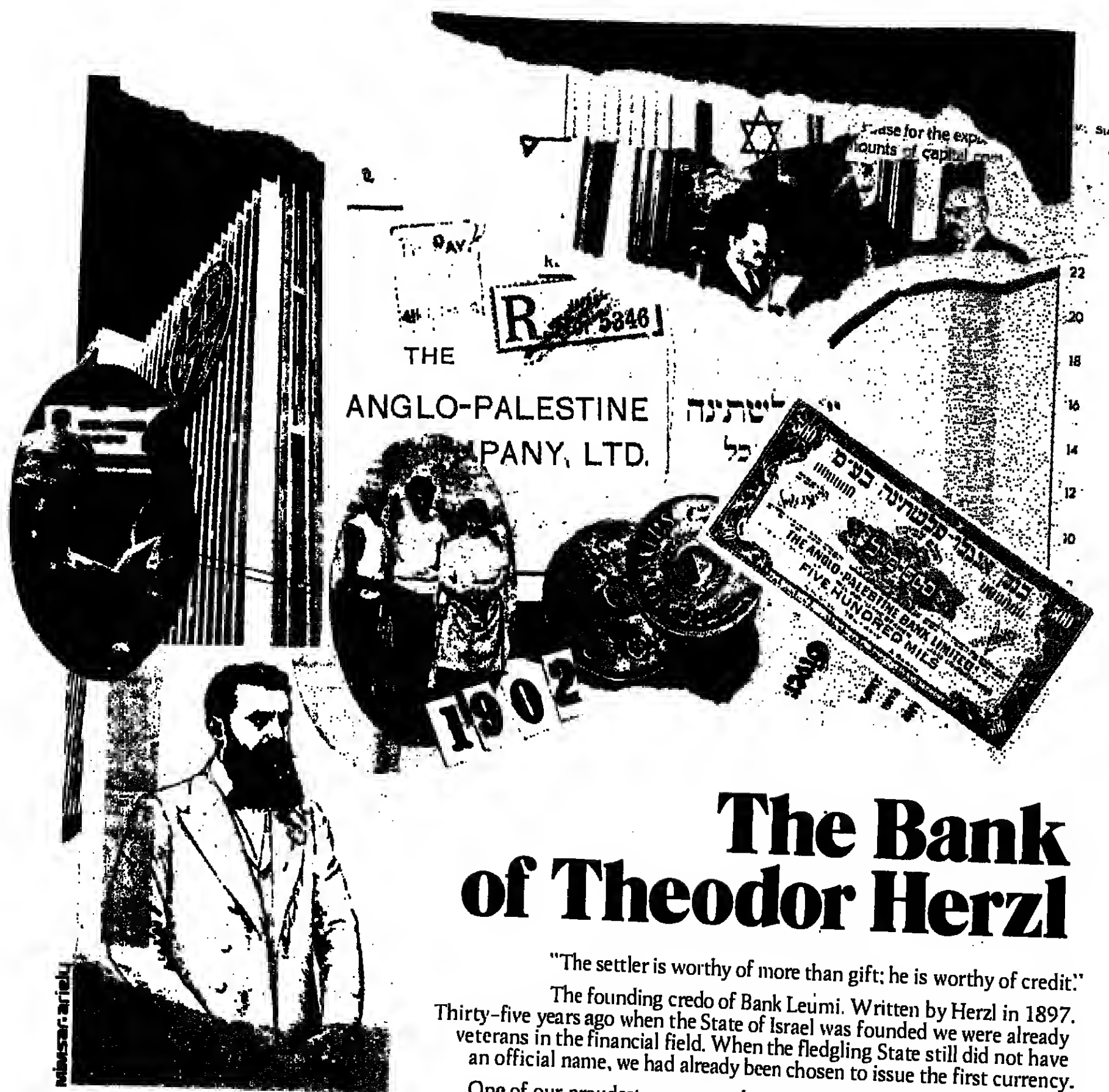
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Book Fair attractions

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A "children's world," a film marathon, dialogues between authors and several prize-giving ceremonies are among the highlights of the Eleventh Jerusalem International Book Fair, which opens this week.

Organizers of the biennial event expect 70,000 people to attend this year's fair. Approximately 7,000 square metres of display space will be used to exhibit the wares of publishers from 40 countries.

The fair will run until midnight on Saturday, April 30.

For the benefit of visitors with children, a "children's world" will provide hundreds of books and games, and authors and actors will be on hand to read stories and give performances.

The Jerusalem Cinematheque will present a marathon of films including those based on books by authors who are invited guests at the fair. The marathon will feature

La Belle de Jour, The Big Dig, The Policeman, Salah Stabai, Section 37, The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner and *Z.*

There will also be encounters between authors. In one of them, Israeli and foreign writers will discuss "Human Rights and the Involvement of Writers." Another dialogue — in French — will conclude with a presentation to the Hebrew University of a sword designed by Jean Cocteau, which was willed to the university by the late Joseph Kessel.

Highlight of the fair's activities will be the presentation of the Jerusalem Prize to author V.S. Naipaul. Previous recipients of the prize include Bertrand Russell, Simone de Beauvoir, Issiah Berlin and Graham Greene.

Yehozkel Steinitzky, founder of the Stelmutsky book shop chain, will be awarded the Friend of Jerusalem trophy, along with Gerhurd Kurtze, Antonius van der Heyden, Paul Feller and Arthur Rosenthal.

ISRAEL AND SYRIA

(Continued from page 1)

a limited war remaining limited. Meanwhile, Israel sought "clarifications" from the U.S. about President Ronald Reagan's recent letter to Syrian President Hafez Assad urging negotiations for Israel's withdrawal from the Golan Heights.

Israeli policy-makers were plainly disturbed by the timing and the tenor of the letter. Their anxieties have not been entirely allayed by assurances from Washington officials that the letter merely reiterated long-standing American policy.

First word of Reagan's letter was published by the official Syrian news agency. It cited Reagan as writing that the U.S. and Syria share the "common goal of a negotiated peace settlement" and said that Reagan dwelt on the fact that UN Security Council Resolution 242 requires withdrawal by Israel on all fronts.

Israel applied its law and administration to the Golan Heights in December 1981, thereby effectively annexing the territory.

U.S. officials confirmed that Reagan had written to Assad on the occasion of Syria's independence day, but they sought to play down the significance of the move.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin declared later in the week that the "Golan Heights are under Israeli law and will continue to be so always."

Begin spoke to a contention of veterans of the Jabotinsky movement. Begin reminded his audience that the heights "came under Israeli law about a year-and-a-half ago. They still are under that law and will continue to be under our law. Nothing can change that."

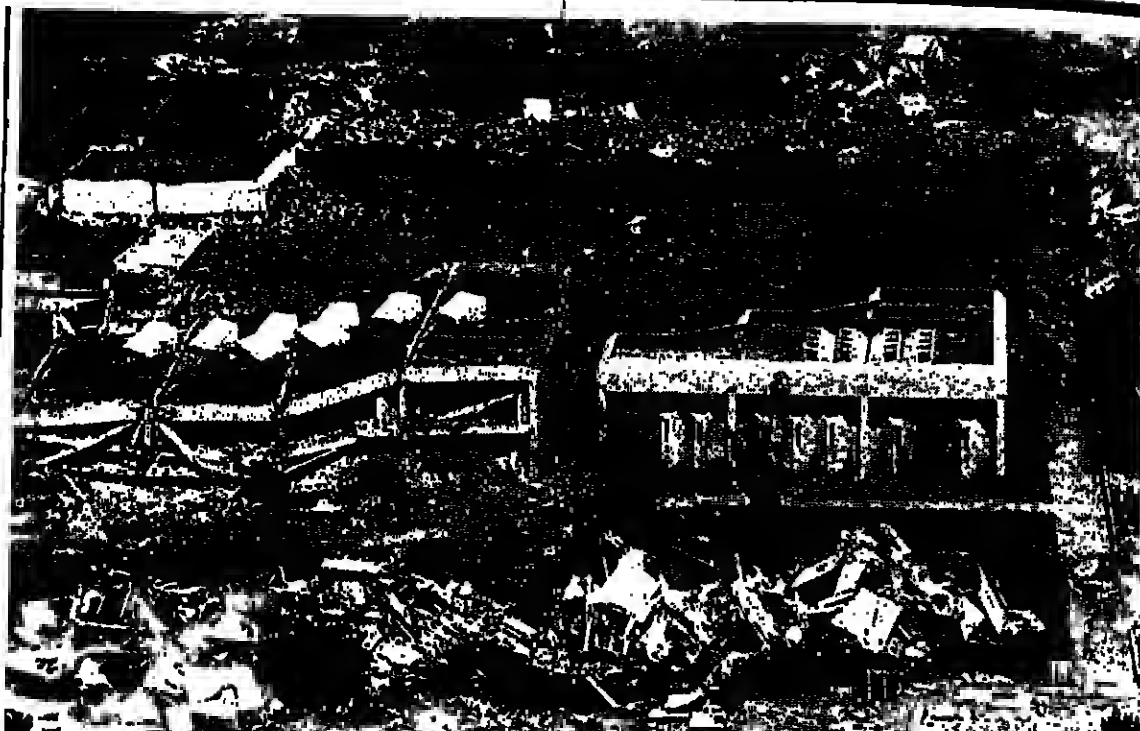
Begin also rejected any suggestions of an Israeli freeze on settlements. "It is imaginary to expect the government of the Jewish state to decree that Jews cannot settle in certain areas. The Jabotinsky movement never urged the expulsion of Arabs — we always sought co-existence and mutual respect with them and that is still our goal," he said.

(Compiled from reports by David Landau, Hersh Goodman, Asher Wallfisch, David Bernstein and Menachem Horowitz.)

Weizmann Institute doctorate for Andrei Sakharov

REHOVOT. — Soviet physicist and human rights activist Andrei Sakharov, who has been exiled to the Soviet city of Gorky, will be awarded an honorary doctorate in absentia at the Weizmann Institute.

According to biologist Prof. Edward Teller, the Soviet physicist has been subjected to constant harassment by the KGB, and has been denied opportunity to pursue his scientific work.



The only building intact in what was Yamit is the synagogue.

(Ostermann)

Sinai peace force marks its first birthday

By RICHARD OSTERMANN

The first anniversary of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) in Sinai was marked on April 25. Its commander, Norwegian General Fredrik Bull-Hansen, says, "I believe we have solved the task given to us, and neither Israelis nor Egyptians feel their security threatened in the area where we have responsibility."

His force of 2,600 soldiers, comprising contingents from 10 countries, and an additional 400 civilians from abroad and another 400 locally employed civilians,

reports on violations of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty to both governments, as well as to the office of director general of the MFO, located in Rome.

Colombia, Fiji and the U.S. each provide an infantry battalion to MFO, while specialized units are sent by Australia, France, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the U.S. and Uruguay. In addition, Norway contributes four staff officers for the military headquarters.

"It has been very rewarding to try to melt together this multinational force," Gen. Bull-Hansen says.

MFO is the biggest peace keeping operation ever staged outside the framework of the UN.

The area under MFO control includes what was Yamit, now heaps of bulldozed houses with only one building, the synagogue, standing intact in the midst of devastation. One recognizes the places where the supermarket, the school and Yamit's best restaurant were. It is shocking to see what remains of this dream city. It looks as if it was flattened by a huge hammer. The few Egyptians staying there live in tents on the outskirts.

SHULTZ MIDEAST VISIT

(Continued from page 1)

position and Shultz's visit were the main issues at Sunday's weekly cabinet meeting.

Labour Minister Aharon Uzan proposed to the cabinet that Israel withdraw its troops unilaterally to Lebanon's Awali River, some 45 kilometres north of the Israeli border. The idea has been gaining ground in recent weeks as the talks with Lebanon remain deadlocked and Israel's casualties continue to mount.

As one Israeli official put it last week this would leave President Jemayel in nominal control of Beirut and its environs, with the rest of Lebanon divided between Israel and Syria.

A unilateral Israeli withdrawal might then persuade the Lebanese of the need to take Israel's security requirements in Southern Lebanon more seriously and soften its negotiating position in the talks on the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

At the State Department, a senior U.S. official said Shultz would speed about two days each in the three capitals with the "initial emphasis" of the trip being focused on the need to make progress on troop withdrawal.

The trip has been under consideration for months, and the official said Shultz is going now because "the timing seems to be right."

The official said that after Shultz visits Egypt, Israel and Lebanon, he will consider further stops in Jordan and Saudi Arabia, and added, "nothing is excluded."

Shultz has said repeatedly that he was not eager to visit the Middle

East until there was a chance that substantial progress could be made. The senior official said that there has not been a sudden breakthrough, but that "the progress has been made over a period of time."

Officials said that during his trip, Shultz would urge moderate Arab leaders to persuade King Hussein to join the overall peace process, despite the collapse of his recent talks with PLO chairman Yasser Arafat.

The Israel-Lebanon-U.S. negotiations on a Lebanon troop withdrawal continued last week despite the bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, in which 17 Americans and at least 30 Lebanese were killed.

In another development, a key meeting of the Palestinian leadership on whether to resume talks with Jordan ended in Tunis on Friday with an inconclusive communiqué after several hours of stormy debates, Palestinian sources said.

(Compiled from reports by David Landau and agencies.)

Second in Eurovision

Israel gained second place, with 136 points, in the Eurovision song contest in Munich on Saturday night. Itai, sung by Ofra Haza, was voted just behind the Luxembourg entry, which received 142 points.

THE WEATHER. — Because of a continuing strike of meteorologists we are unable to give details of the weather, which has turned fine and warm.

Rumania wants stronger ties

A high-level delegation of Rumanian officials left Israel on Friday after a three-day visit in which they expressed Rumania's desire to improve bilateral relations.

Delegation head Floria Dimitrescu, an adviser to President Nicolae Ceausescu, brought a letter from the Rumanian leader to Prime Minister Menachem Begin expressing the wish for deepening relations.

It was announced by the Prime Minister's office, Begin, who met with Dimitrescu last Thursday, said he was equally interested in improved ties. Begin also raised the issue of Rumania's recently announced "education tax" on its citizens seeking to emigrate.

Rumania is the only Communist country to maintain relations with Israel after all others broke off ties during the 1967 Six Day War.

Interpol helping

Interpol is distributing photos and descriptions of the clocks, watches and other property stolen in mid-April from Jerusalem's L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute of Islamic Art to its branches around the world.

Local police, meanwhile, have questioned workers at the museum, as well as other persons. But no arrests have been made in the \$5 million heist and police say they have no potential suspects.

Customs officials and police are meticulously examining goods leaving the country, hoping to put their hands on the stolen property or to deter the thieves from smuggling it out.

NEWS REPORT

The group that bombed the embassy

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

Sources in Israel are convinced that the car-bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut last week was carried out by a fundamentalist Shi'ite organization closely connected to Iran and Syria.

Responsibility for the attack — in which 47 people were killed, 17 of them Americans — was claimed by an organization calling itself Jihad al-Islami (Muslim Holy War), which experts here believe is the code name of a breakaway faction of the Lebanese Shi'ite Amal militia. The group, headed by Hussein Musawi, has its headquarters in Nabatieh in northeastern Lebanon, and is thought to have only several dozen committed members. It is known to receive logistical support, arms and training from Iran and Syria.

The Syrians, who control the

Nabatieh area, have also provided immunity from the Lebanese authorities. Musawi's group has the support of hundreds of Iranian volunteers who arrived in Lebanon shortly after the outbreak of the war last June. These volunteers are also headquartered in Nabatieh.

Analysis here says there were three objectives behind the blast: • It was intended to disrupt the ongoing negotiations on the future of Lebanon, which envisaged a complete Syrian-P.O. withdrawal from Lebanon.

• It was intended to create an opposition climate in the U.S., putting pressure on Washington to withdraw the American forces from Lebanon, or at least limit their involvement in Lebanese politics.

• It was intended to show the government of Lebanon that not even the support of a formidable ally like the U.S. can stabilize the

Christian regime of President Amin Jemayel in what they regard as a Muslim country.

It is not yet known how the car-bomb was detonated, but experts say that even if it exploded electronically, it would not have required great sophistication to prepare the bomb. Experts say it is not difficult to find 250 kilo of TNT or a military vehicle in Lebanon today. They add that it is also not difficult to evade roadblocks.

Musawi's organization is said to be linked to the Iraqi opposition party, also supported by Iran and Syria, which claimed responsibility for two almost identical car-bombings in Baghdad last week. The Iraqi opposition party is composed exclusively of Shi'ites, who although they constitute 66 per cent of Iraq's population, have no power in Saddam Hussein's Sunni-controlled government.

3 more soldiers killed in Lebanon

Post Defence Correspondent

Three Israeli soldiers were killed in Lebanon Wednesday night and Thursday of last week.

Sergeant Menachem Reich and Sergeant Heiman Zvi Maklin, both 21, were killed in a clash with terrorists who had tried to infiltrate from Syrian-controlled territory on Wednesday night. The third soldier, a truck driver, was killed by snipers' fire south of Rashidiya. He was Rav-Tamir (corporal) Baruch Weizman, 34, father of five children, who was buried at Holon cemetery last Friday.

All four terrorist attackers were killed in Wednesday night's clash.

Military sources said there was no connection between the two incidents and the tension between Israel and Syria. One should not read too much into the fact that the terrorist squad that killed the two officers infiltrated from Syrian territory, they asserted.

Since the formal end of Operation Peace for Galilee last September, 132 Israeli soldiers have been killed in Lebanon.

Observers said that they expect an increase in the number of

terror incidents against both Israeli and international forces, given the improvement in the weather and the heightened political tension.

At Maklin's funeral, Defence Minister Moshe Arens told over 1,000 mourners that the firmness of Israel's stand in Lebanon will ensure the success of the negotiations.

"Our soldiers in Lebanon and the public at the time must know that our steadfastness in Lebanon and our ability to hold these lines will determine the future of the negotiations," said Arens.

Green light for new West Bank settlements

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The joint ministerial-Jewish Agency settlement committee last week approved the establishment of three more settlements to be built in western Samaria, committee sources confirmed.

The three settlements have been temporarily named Oranit, Bruhim and Dir Kain, and are planned to include between 1,000 and 1,500 housing units, depending on the land reserves in each area.

Last week's ceremony marking the handing over of the Nahal outpost on Mt. Bracha to civilians as the first stage of establishing a Jewish suburb close to the West Bank town of Nablus was raised both at the cabinet meeting and that of the joint settlement committee.

Deputy Prime Minister and Agriculture Minister Simha Ehrlich, who chairs the ministerial settlement committee, said at the cabinet session that the ceremony was out

of place, that the attendance of David Levy, deputy prime minister and housing minister, was unnecessary and that publicity surrounding the event was "harmful and provocative."

Ehrlich said that much damage had been done by last month's leak of a plan to hand over eight army outposts to civilians. The process itself was positive, he said, but the fuss was deplorable.

Interior Minister Yosef Burg and Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori echoed his remarks.

But at the joint settlement committee session later in the day, Levy was warmly praised for the way his ministry had gone about establishing Bracha, which was prepared for civilian settlers within three weeks.

Levy was among those in the ministerial defence committee who originally objected to the establishment of Bracha when it came

before that body. Science and Infrastructure Minister Yuval Ne'eman talked of "Upper Shechem" becoming to Nablus in another 70 years what Tel Aviv is to Jaffa.

At Mount Bracha, where the army's pioneering youth branch handed over the settlement to 15 civilian families, a crowd of almost 10,000 Peace Now supporters lined the ceremonies. They were kept far away from the 3,000 Gush Emunim supporters at the site of the settlement.

Bracha lies some eight kilometres south of Nablus, the largest and most nationalistic Arab town on the West Bank.

Most West Bank schools reopened last week after a three-week closure prompted by the "poisoning" scare which sent hundreds of girls into local hospitals.

Schools in the Jenin area, where the panic started, remain closed.

PLO planned to destroy Israeli towns

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Palestine Liberation Organization planned the destruction of Kiryat Shmona, Metulla, Dan, She'ar Yeshuv and Nahariya and its vicinity, according to a document found in the organization's Sidon headquarters during the war in Lebanon.

The document, dated July 18, 1981, is one of 126 documents relating to the PLO's "state within a state" in Lebanon that have been edited by Dr. Raphael Israeli of the Hebrew University, under the title

PLO in Lebanon — Selected Documents (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1983).

The document relating to the planned destruction of Israeli towns is written on PLO supreme military command stationery and states: "The supreme military council has decided to concentrate on the destruction of Kiryat Shmona, Metulla, Dan, She'ar Yeshuv and Nahariya and its vicinity... Metulla will be shelled with 160mm mortars (Palestine Liberation Front — As-Surika). Nahariya and its vicinity will be shelled with 130mm guns —

artillery battalion 1... revolution unit victory!"

The bulk of the book consists of classified documents seized by Israel in Sidon and selected for their political significance, rather than for their immediate operational importance. Supplementing the original written documents, whose fuscines appear in the book, translated, unannotated and placed in context, a chapter of oral reports depicts PLO activities in Southern Lebanon and the relationship that the organization formed with the population there.

Opposing Poles



Wreath-laying ceremony at monument to Warsaw ghetto fighters last week.

At a ceremony commemorating the Warsaw ghetto uprising last week, a PLO official offended Israeli delegates by laying a wreath at the memorial site in the Polish capital. This despite Polish government promises to Israel that the PLO would not take part in the ceremonies.

The PLO representative asked further insult by likening Zionists and Israel to the ghetto fighters' Nazi oppressors.

Members of the Israeli delegation lodged a protest with the Polish government, and some returned home immediately. Delegates from other countries objected as well.

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Anti-Israel trend in British unions

By HYAM CORNEY/London

A RESOLUTION by a film technicians' union condemning Israel and enlisting on its members not to work there on cinema projects, passed a few weeks ago, is but the latest in a series of anti-Israel moves by leading British trade unions. In the view of Benjamin Sella, the new representative in the United Kingdom of Israel's Histadrut labour federation, it is part of "a well-orchestrated and well-funded campaign."

Sella, who came to England six months ago, is the Histadrut's first full-time representative here for 15 years and the vacuum has left him with an enormous job to do. He was greeted on arrival with the passing of hostile resolutions at the annual conferences of both the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party itself.

Coming to this country after five years in Washington as labour counsellor at the Israeli Embassy, he found the attitude of British trade unions "a culture shock," he told me last week.

"In America, there was a warm and co-operative attitude towards Israel in general and the trade union movement in particular. This expressed itself in many ways, not least financial. The trade union pension funds, for example, are among the largest purchasers of Israeli bonds."

Sella found the attitude in Britain "chilling." The views expressed by some unions contained verbal violence of a kind he had not experienced for years.

"Some of them accuse Israel of genocide in Lebanon and talk of Israeli suppression of the Palestinian people. Their literature accuses the Histadrut of being an apartheid organization and of expropriating Arab land to establish kibbutzim."

He believes that this is mainly the work of a small extremist element of Trotskyites and radicals "who condemn everything to do with Israel."

The fact that the wording of many of the resolutions is identical has helped to convince him that the campaign is centrally orchestrated. As to where the money comes from, he says "there are suggestions it is provided by Arab countries."

Literature published by the Palestine Trade Union Committee or the Trade Union Friends of Palestine is to be seen everywhere at trade union conferences and meetings.

Sella is now trying to redress the balance and is not without hope. "We have a lot of friends in the leadership of the trade union movement and in the grass-roots membership. At the same time, I was very discouraged and felt the situation irretrievable. Now I'm much more optimistic."

In his months here, working closely with the Labour Friends of Israel, with which he shares offices, Sella has arranged a number of exchange visits between British and

Israeli trade unionists. Together with Labour friends, his office has set up a trade union advisory panel which includes several leading figures. Some 30 top union officials attended a one-day seminar in Israel he organized recently.

THE RESOLUTION passed by the Association of Cinematograph and Allied Technicians (ACTT) referred to the "genocidal attempts in Lebanon by Israel aimed at breaking up the chosen representatives of the Palestinian nation." It asked its members to "refrain from working in Israel and on Israeli-financed film and television projects, with the exception of news and current affairs, until a just political solution is implemented."

As has already been reported, it was moved by a man who claims to be a reserve officer in the IDF, Haim Bresheeth, who lectures on film and television at a college in Surrey, in the south of England.

What is not clear at present is whether the resolution bans its members from working in Israel, or merely calls on them not to do so. Furthermore, it has to be decided by the union's general council, which meets in June, whether it should be implemented.

It could in fact be a boomerang on the British technicians. Israeli authorities might decide to react by banning all ACTT members, whether they are working on news programmes or not. But no decision has yet been taken.

The first of the first fruits

Portion of the Week. Emor, Leviticus 23:24.

The verse discussed is 23:17.

THE PORTION of this week includes an enumeration of the festivals of the year and goes into some detail not only about festivals themselves, but also about the whole period through which we are passing, the seven weeks between Pesach and Shavuot, the days of the Omer. On Shavuot, Jews are enjoined to bring an offering of two loaves of bread, made of fine flour,

TORA AND FLORA
L.I. Rabinowitz

which in contrast to the bread of Pesach, must be leavened, and they are called "first fruits unto the Lord."

Actually, as this column has mentioned, wheat is not the first grain to ripen; barley ripens seven weeks earlier, and that is the reason for the offering of the Omer on the second day of Pesach. Barley was

regarded as essentially an animal fodder, and in Exodus 34:22, the Shavuot festival is specifically called "The Feast of Weeks, even of the first fruits of wheat" (cf. Rashi *in loc.*).

The rabbis, however, regard the festival as that of all the first fruits of the land, though none of the fruits of the trees are ripe by then, and it is Succot which is the harvest festival.

In the tractate devoted to the first fruits and therefore called *Bikkurim*, the difficulty is solved. Chapter 31 states, "How do they set apart the first fruits? The farmer goes down to his field and when he sees a fig which 'ripens,' a cluster of grapes which have 'ripened' or a pomegranate, he ties a reed round it, declaring, 'These are first fruits,' to which R. Simeon adds, 'nevertheless he should redesignate them again as first fruits after they are picked.' It will be clear why I have put the word 'ripen' in inverted commas. It is the first uppearance of the unripe fruit, that is referred to as the first fruits, and the reason for this period being chosen is beautifully expressed by Helen Frankley, associate director of Neot Kedumim, in her translation of Nahu Hareuveni's book, *Nature in our Biblical Heritage*. "During this period of the Omer, the flowers of the olive, grape, pomegranate and date open, and the embryonic figs begin to develop. During the same period, the kernels of wheat and barley fill with starch and the fate of the crops of each of the seven species (mentioned in Deut. 8:8) is determined (the italics are hers). And, in fact, in Exodus 23:19 the first fruits which are mentioned as having to be brought to the Temple are referred to not as 'the first fruits,' but as 'the beginning of the first fruits of the land.'"

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Selling wave brings down share index by 6 per cent

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The post-Independence Day trading week, shortened to three sessions, brought an unexpected wave of selling that lowered the general share index — commercial banking shares excepted — by 6.83 per cent.

Insurance companies, service and trade, land development and real estate, industries, investment companies and oil concerns suffered even worse falls, extending to as much as 8.73 per cent.

One cannot help but recall the very accurate prediction made some three weeks ago by one of the country's leading bankers. He told *The Jerusalem Post* at that time that he would not be surprised to see renewed heavy selling of shares accompanied by sharply falling prices.

The banker suggested that such an eventuality would be connected to a desire of a number of money managers and mutual-fund directors wishing to dispose of large lots of shares which they were unable to unload during the precipitous market decline of late January.

There was near panic buying of foreign currency following a spate of rumours regarding an accelerated devaluation of the shekel. Bank of Israel Governor Moshe Mandelbaum did little to allay these

fears with his declaration that the pace of devaluation should be equal to the rate of inflation.

However, Finance Minister Yoram Aridor said on his return from a visit to the U.S. and Britain at the weekend that he did not support any acceleration of the devaluation of the shekel.

For the time being, there appears to be no major changes in the government's policy of controlled and moderate devaluation. The shekel was devalued by 1.4 per cent against the dollar last week. It was stable against the mark and the Swiss franc and lost 2 per cent against sterling.

A final factor responsible for nervousness in the investment community was related to Syria's reported strengthening of its positions on the Israeli border.

The development of the prices of banking shares continued to be the major exception, as these moved against the trend and for the greater part showed gains which one might expect from this sector.

The index-linked bond market surprisingly did not attract much attention. The one exception was a strong demand for the Gilboa dollar-linked bonds.

These are trading at a premium of 5 to 6 per cent over their calculated value.



New York Mayor Edward Koch (centre) at City Hall with some of the 35 Israeli business leaders who visited the U.S. in connection with Israel Bonds "Operation Enterprise." Yossi Vardi (at left), president of International Technologies and head of the delegation, presents the Israel Peace Medal to the mayor while Yehuda Hasevi, president of the Bond Organization, looks on. Report on next page.

What the Hebrew newspapers say

Dever (Histadrut), condemning the Polish government for allowing the PLO to lay a wreath during the Warsaw Ghetto ceremonies, says that recalling the heads of the official Israeli delegation from Poland actually means "that the PLO has this time determined where and when an Israeli delegation is to be present... Israel did not recall its ambassador from the UN when Yasser Arafat spoke there."

It adds that for 20 years Israeli spokesmen have been reiterating that "the terrorists will not make us change our lives." But if Israel plays according to PLO rules, the terrorist organization will be able to say that Israel has indeed driven the PLO out of Beirut, and the latter drove Israel out of Warsaw.

The participation of Israelis, and Jews from the West, in the ceremonies "was supposed to contribute to an image of greater openness of the Polish regime." But because the Poles did not prevent the PLO representative from laying a wreath, "Israel is entitled to react

by undermining General Jaruzelski's public relations campaign." Ma'ariv (Independent), one of Israel's two mass-circulation newspapers, compares the actions of the Polish government to the deep-fryings practiced by the Nazis to "drug six million Jews to the gas chambers and the firing squads." It finds it grotesque that the PLO compares the position of the Palestinians to that of the Jews during World War II.

Yedioth Achronot (Independent), Israel's other mass-circulation newspaper, discusses the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut.

"The people of Israel have had many such experiences at the hands of the Arab terrorists, but for the U.S. this is something new and terrible... Perhaps now the U.S. leadership will understand why we are so opposed to putting the security of territories on our northern borders into the hands of the Lebanese Army, which is not yet an army at all."

SPORTS

Netanya clinch soccer league

Maccabi Netanya Saturday clinched their fifth National League soccer championship.

Netanya's run-away domination of the league was curtailed by defeats in their previous two matches, but they were finally able to indulge in the champagne celebrations at the weekend by gaining a point in a 0-0 draw, with Bnei Yehuda in Tel Aviv's Hatikva Quarter.

Now Netanya will be seeking to add gloss to their triumphant season under coach Mordechai Spiegel by repeating their double league and cup triumph which they recorded in 1978.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Haapoel Tel Aviv 2, Haapoel Beersheba 3
Bnei Yehuda 0, Maccabi Netanya 0
Maccabi Jaffa 1, Haapoel Jerusalem 1
Hapoel Kfar Saba 2, Hapoel Lod 2
Maccabi Yotat 2, Maccabi Haifa 1
Bnei Jerusalem 2, Maccabi Petach Tikva 1
Hapoel Ramat Gan 1, Hapoel Yotat 0
Shimshon H. Maccabi Tel Aviv 1

Glickstein beats young giant-killer

By JACK LEVIN
Post Sports Reporter

ASHKELON. — Top-seeded Shlomo Glickstein last week ended the astonishing giant-killing act of Amos Mansdorf in the Israel Tennis Association's \$125,000 "Dubek Cup" ATP tournament here, by beating the junior champion 6-3, 6-3 in the singles final last week. The 17-year-old

seeded players to reach the last round.

The third of his victims was Austrian champion Robert Reininger, the no. 2 seed, who fell 7-6 (7-4), 6-0 to Mansdorf in the semi-final.

A near-capacity crowd of 2,000 people were on hand at the beautiful Ashkelon Tennis Centre's centre-court stadium for what was the country's first pro tennis meet outside the Tel Aviv area.

Mansdorf — a specially invited "wildcard" entry who started without a single ATP computer point — finished the week-long tournament with 15 points and a world ranking of around 380th, plus \$2,500 in prize money from sponsors Dubek and Grand Speed tennis shoes. Glickstein, who has not competed in such a "modest" tournament for more than three years, ended with \$5,000 and 20 points, which should keep him around 30 in the standings.

The doubles title was won by Holund's Huub Van Boeckel and Stefan Svensson from Sweden, who defeated Rand Evert and Rodney Crowley of the U.S. 6-4, 9-6, 6-3.

Rates of exchange

April 22, 1983	IS
U.S. dollar	41.2698
British sterling	63.7342
German mark	16.8228
French franc	5.6071
Dutch guilder	14.5366
Swiss franc	19.9999
Spanish peseta	6.5063
Portuguese escudo	5.7769
Italian lire	4.7367
Japanese yen	7.5936
Canadian dollar	33.5186
Australian dollar	35.8614
South African rand	37.7433
Belgian franc (1936)	5.4906
Austrian schilling (1970)	23.9245
Israeli sheqel (1980)	2.8230
Japanese yen (1980)	17.4576

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Leaders greet the nation

Jerusalem Post Staff

In their Independence Day messages to the nation last week President Yitzhak Navon and Knesset Speaker Menachem Begin both warned of the growing divisions within Israeli society. But Prime Minister Menachem Begin spoke of how Israel had again gone to war to guarantee its security against outside forces.

"The past year was marked by painful inner debates," said Navon. "Of course, there will never be a time when we will all share the same political views — there will always be arguments — the question is whether we will learn how to conduct them."

"I believe the majority of us wish for greater tolerance and mutual forbearance," Navon said, "and these are quite possible, provided every side in the debate restrains itself and does not give free rein to hostilities and violence."

Begin noted that "the Israel Defence Forces were once again compelled to enter battle against a ruthless enemy of our nation — indeed of the Jewish people — who had built themselves into an armed state within a state in Lebanon, and who had turned Beirut into a centre of international terrorism."

Begin continued: "The one goal of the government of Israel is to live in good peaceful relations with our northern neighbour, Lebanon, whose sovereignty and integrity we respect, and to ensure that never again will the blood of the Galileans be shed."

Savior warned the nation against falling into the abyss of verbal and physical violence that could lead to a deterioration in the spirit and moral fibre of the country.

In conjunction with the Independence Day celebrations, six men and one woman received prizes for outstanding contribution to Israeli culture, education and society from President Navon and Education Minister Zevulun Hammer.

Recipients of the annual Israel Prize were Naomi Shemer, Moshe Wilensky and Haim Hefer (Israeli song); Prof. Avrom Saltman and Prof. Shaul Friedlander (history); Prof. Aharon Appelfeld (Hebrew literature); and Dr. Zerah Werhagiz (special contribution to law and society).

In another traditional event, Rafael Navon, a 17-year-old student in a vocational yeshiva in Tel Aviv, won the 20th World Jewish Bible Quiz for Youth.

The quiz, held in the Jerusalem Theatre, followed preliminary elimination exams for the contestants. Participating were 13 youngsters from abroad and three Israeli competitors.

As expected, the three Israelis took the top honours, but in what was described as an "upset," 16-year-old Aliza Zubin, who studies at the Ramat Ahava High School in New York, tied for second place. Also second was Shimon Ashual, with Dov Kotlovitch third.

In New York last week, an estimated 2,000 Israelis and American Jews attended a memorial service for Israel's fallen soldiers at Hunter College.

Naphtali Lavie, Israel's consul-general in New York, said that Israel's 35th anniversary "is heavily charged with deep emotions of sorrow and grief" over the thousands who lost their lives in Israel's wars.



One hundred and forty members of the Israel Defence Forces chosen for their outstanding service met with President Yitzhak Navon and Mrs. Navon last week. Some of the soldiers are seen here. Defence Minister Moshe Arens is seated next to Mrs. Navon, and the former Chief of Staff, Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan, is beside the president. Navon told the gathering: "Excellence is not a one-time thing, but a way of life, of giving more than you're asked." (Rahamim Yasaroff)

New centre to help soldiers catch up

By YOEL DAR

Jerusalem Post Reporter
NAZARETH. — A cornerstone was laid on nearby Mt. Yona last week for the IDF's Yigal Allon Educational Centre, in a ceremony attended by over 1,000 local guests and donors from abroad.

Among those who participated were Deputy Prime Minister David Levi, former premier MK Yitzhak Rabin, outgoing chief of staff Rav-Aluf (Res.) Rafael Eitan and Ruth Allon (Yigal Allon's widow).

The new educational project will cover about 1,000 dunams (about 250 acres) and consist of a number of schools and sports installations. Its total cost is estimated at about \$52.4 million (\$60m.) and is to take five years to build. Some 800 residents of Upper Nazareth are to find permanent jobs in the centre,

reputedly to be the largest project yet undertaken by the Soldiers' Welfare Association.

The idea for the centre came from Eitan. Its purpose is to enable soldiers from disadvantaged backgrounds to get or supplement their basic education and thus to advance in the army as equals.

Rabin praised the government for its decision to name the new centre after Yigal Allon, "the soldier and the statesman, the farmer and the educator." Rabin also thanked Eitan for his achievement as a soldier.

Although it was his last public ceremony as chief of staff, Eitan spoke briefly, his speech lasting less than two minutes. Eitan said he hopes that the new educational centre would be built as soon as possible by Jewish labour and that fewer and fewer soldiers would need its services.

\$26 million Bonds sold in 7-day blitz

By CAROL COOK

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — In just seven days in April, a group of Israeli industrialists and businessmen sold more than \$26 million worth of State of Israel Bonds, in the course of an international sales campaign.

The project named "Operation Enterprise," brought together representatives of local banks, insurance companies, retailers, and high-technology industries, for a tour of the U.S., Canada, Britain, France and Latin America, that lasted from April 10-16.

Several of the participants told the press they had found widespread interest in the Israeli economy and in investment possibilities here.

"Operation Enterprise" was conceived by the President of Israel Bonds, Tal-Aluf (res.) Yehuda Halevy. A similar project involving IDF officers, "Operation Muehnee," took place last December. The head of the "Enterprise" delegation was Yossi Vardi, President of International Technologies.

In 1982, Israel Bonds registered total sales of \$502m., said Publicly Director Mel Fenson. Their peak year was 1973, with sales of \$515m.

Plans to help ex-prisoners thwarted by municipalities

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter
RAMLE. — Plans to build ten rehabilitation hostels for released prisoners have been shattered by the refusal of every local authority in Israel to grant them planning permission.

The first hostel, expected to operate in Ness Ziona, cannot be opened because the municipality says it does not want prisoners in the area, said Prisons Commissioner Dr. Mordechai Wertheimer.

He was speaking at the conclusion of a tour of Ramle prison with Knesset Speaker Menachem Begin and Interior Ministry Police Department head Ya'akov Markovitz.

About 2,500 prisoners are released every year but most of them are not accepted by society and 60 per cent return to prison, where the rehabilitation services cannot cope with them, Wertheimer said. He added that more than 70 per cent of prison inmates use drugs and receive drug substitutes. In addition to the 500 to 700 drug addicts treated in Ramle prison's centre for the rehabilitation of drug addicts.

Under the existing penal code, many persons who should not be in prison are locked up in cells, costing the country \$300,000 each and aggravating the crowded prison conditions, Wertheimer added.

"Society puts much hope in imprisonment as a means to mend a criminal's ways," Markovitz said after the tour. "But in reality, prison does not solve any problem."

Savior also toured Neve Tirza, Ramle prison's women's quarters, which houses about 90 women prisoners, 30 of whom were convicted of terrorist crimes. The Ramle prison complex houses some 2,700 inmates. Most of the inmates in Neve Tirza — Israel's only women's prison — are young women, convicted on drug and prostitution charges, Director Ro'nyo Epstein said.

Epstein explained that most young convicts embark on prostitution and even burglary in order to pay for the heroin they have become addicted to.

Real wages down: Real income of wage-earners for April will be 15 per cent lower than it was in January, according to calculations made from Treasury figures released last week.

The Histadrut labour federation is expected to submit demands to employers for compensation in light of this wage erosion.

Kiryat Shmona: a city comes to life in northern Galilee

By AARON SITTNER

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Kiryat Shmona, the immigrant camp that became a city, is gradually losing its feeling of isolation and has become a social and economic centre for the Galilee panhandle on Israel's northern border.

This emerges from an analysis just released by the Settlement Study Centre in Rehovot for the Construction and Housing Ministry. The study was completed at about the time of the June 1982 invasion of Lebanon and points to the progress the city has made in education, health services and economic development.

Kiryat Shmona ("city of the eight") is named for the eight fighters who fell in the battle of Tel

Hai in 1920. The outcome of that battle is said to have determined Israel's northern borders.

The city was established in 1949 as a ma'abara (temporary immigrant camp) on the site of the abandoned village of Khisla. The population was composed of three main waves of immigration: 1951-52, 1955-56 and 1960-61. The newcomers, who were brought there straight from their ships and planes hailed from Morocco, Tunisia, Iraq, Iran, Kurdistan, Rumania and Hungary.

Transferring immigrants to Kiryat Shmona was one element of the population distribution plan adopted by Israel's first government. As Arab farmers in the region left their homes in the wake of the War of Independence, the land they

abandoned was appended to the fields of nearby Jewish settlements. This created a need for more workers, and thus the Jewish population kept growing.

The increased output of agricultural produce called for the establishment of processing plants and these, along with warehousing and marketing facilities, became Kiryat Shmona's first industries.

By the early sixties, many people quitting kibbutzim had still yearning for a pioneering way of life took up residence in Kiryat Shmona. A decade later, residents of the Golan Heights began to take advantage of Kiryat Shmona's commercial, educational and economic facilities.

By the time Operation Peace for Galilee was launched, Kiryat

Shmona was home for eight large mechanical equipment factories, five major textile and clothing plants, 24 medium-sized metalworking shops, 15 carpentry and woodworking establishments, 12 motor vehicle garages, five electrical equipment and electronic assembly plants, five printing industries and scores of assorted small workshops.

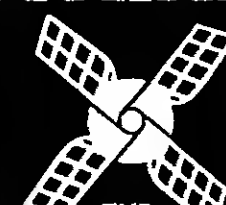
The survey found that half of the 16,000 people living in Kiryat Shmona are under 18 years old. "The city has a young image," the researchers wrote. "What is more, Kiryat Shmona's rate of natural increase — 30.2 births per 1,000 residents — is one of the highest among Israeli Jews, with the natural average being 25.6 per 1,000 population."

Besides the 7,000 children enrolled in the city's schools, another 2,000 young people study at the Tel Hadya College. This multi-discipline educational institution maintains its curriculum in cooperation with the Hebrew University, the Technion, Haifa University and the Government Technological Training Institute.

Among the students are Arabs from South Lebanon.

Meanwhile, it was announced that the Absorption Ministry will subsidize 80 per cent of the rent of immigrants whose professional expertise is needed by Kiryat Shmona and who will be willing to work there.

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72/81

New Israeli warplane project moves step forward

By IIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

The recent decision by the U.S. to release technology requested by Israel on the Lavi warplane was made personally by President Ronald Reagan, who was forced to decide between the conflicting opinions of Secretary of State George Shultz and Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Shultz was for the sale; Weinberger vehemently opposed it. The National Security Council tended toward Shultz.

The *Jerusalem Post* has learned from reliable sources that Shultz argued that it was important to indicate to Israel that the U.S. continued to support it, despite the administration's intense courting of moderate Arab states, primarily Jordan. It was also felt that the gesture would influence Israel's position at the Lebanese negotiations, at a time when Israel perceives the U.S. as not being objective and of actively encouraging the Lebanese into maximalist positions.

It was apparently the administration's assessment that if it continued to withhold the technology any longer, Israel would either downgrade the Lavi to conform with Israeli technological capabilities and attempt the project alone, or else enter into agreement with one of several European firms that have the advanced composite technology Israel needs.

In terms of the U.S. decision three American firms, General Dynamics, Yaught and Gramman, may now release studies conducted on Israel's behalf pertaining to various aspects of the Lavi. Two other firms were contacted on flight-control systems Israel paid several million dollars for the studies, all three of which were supposed to have been released simultaneously last October. The release was dependent on approval from the State Department, and could only be given when various arms of government had sanctioned the transfer of technology.

Since October, Israeli defence officials have been lobbying incessantly at all levels of the administration to have the request processed. They explained that if the technology was held up any longer, the Lavi

production schedule would fall hopelessly behind.

More importantly, Israel Aircraft Industries and Beit Shemesh Engines, the two prime Israeli contractors for the project, would not be able to maintain the large infrastructure they had prepared for the Lavi. Hundreds of engineers from around the world, who had been hired specifically for the project, would have to be fired. Thousands of jobs were dependent on the project, and the delay was straining the budget of the project — a budget that is already taxing the economy to its limits.

Israel will now have to examine the three studies before entering into a contract with one of the three firms asked for their tenders on flight control systems, composite materials and the wing section of the aircraft. Most of the electronics will be of Israeli manufacture, as will the weapons' control systems. Flight control will probably be fly-by-wire technology that Israel does not have. A similar system is in the F-16, manufactured by General Dynamics.

The engine will be a Pratt and Whitney 1120, to be built at Beit Shemesh Engine under license.

The Lavi is intended to be the primary "workhorse" of the Israeli Air Force, with the first squadron due for delivery in 1992. It will replace aging Slyhawks, and Phantoms that are not due for refurbishment, and first-generation Kfir.

Israeli defence officials feel that the Lavi has excellent export potential, in that it is a typical "throwaway" export item, as fighter aircraft built specifically for export to Third World countries are called. The Lavi would be in direct competition with the F-5g, made by Gramman, and the down-graded F-16 of General Dynamics.

Officials do not expect the second stage of the technology transfer to be problematic. "The Americans have made a decision in principle to allow the Lavi to go ahead, and it should flow evenly from now on," a senior source told *The Post* last night.

Initially, Israel had hoped to be able to use some of the U.S. aid package to finance the project, but

there is little hope that this will come about. By law U.S. aid money has to be spent in the U.S.

Wolf Blitzer adds:

U.S. officials said last week that the administration was hoping the decision would strengthen the hands of the more "pro-American" officials in the Israeli cabinet. "It was a confidence building gesture," one U.S. official said.

The Americans have long recognized that Israel's new Defence Minister, Moshe Arens, is a principal supporter of the Lavi project. There was a sense in Washington that the U.S. announcement would help Arens.

Appearing Sunday on ABC's *This Week* television news programme, Arens was clearly pleased by the U.S. decision. "I'm grateful to the president of the United States," he said, "and particularly grateful to the Secretary of State, George Shultz, who I know has worked hard to bring about this release."

Arens pointedly did not thank U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

Row over reported freeze of canal project

Post Knesset Correspondent

The Knesset State Control Committee will meet shortly to discuss the quarrel between the Finance and the Energy Ministries about the alleged freeze on the Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal scheme.

Committee chairman Avraham Katz-Oz announced last week that he will try to ascertain the facts behind the allegations, and will invite Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i to explain his charges that the Treasury is undermining national development projects.

Katz-Oz said he will also ask State Comptroller Yitzhak Tunkin to verify whether funds raised in the U.S. for the express purpose of building the canal have indeed been spent on other projects, as Moda'i alleged. "It will be extremely grave if it is true," Katz-Oz said. "It will go counter to all the hallowed principles of sound financial ad-

ministration."

A group of American Jewish fundraisers visiting the Knesset last week told reporters that the small number of highly motivated American Jews who bought Israel Bonds for the canal, above their customary annual Bonds portfolios, will react "most negatively" if it is true that the money went to something else.

They said that Bonds buyers who count most will be disillusioned and will be deterred from taking part in special campaigns in future.

David Landau writes:

Prime Minister Menachem Begin is meeting with Finance Minister Aridor and Moda'i in an attempt to settle the row over the canal project.

The issue came up in the cabinet when Begin joined Interior Minister Yosef Burg in exhorting the Finance Ministry for publicly branding Moda'i a "muddle-headed

ignoramus."

The Energy Ministry, is charging that some \$100 million in Israel Bonds raised specifically as "seed money" for the canal project had already been spent by the Finance Ministry elsewhere.

Finance Ministry economists are now saying that the canal is not an economically viable project.

Senior Bonds officials in New York reacted last week with equanimity to this inter-ministerial row. The officials acknowledged Israel's difficulties in shouldering the canal project (estimated cost: \$1.5 billion) together with another major national project — the Lavi warplane, especially so soon after the war in Lebanon.

The Bonds officials, confirming Finance Ministry explanations here in Israel, said that Israel Bonds are never formally earmarked for any specific project. They are purchased for Israel's development

needs in general, and the Finance Ministry thus has the right to allocate the funds as it sees fit.

In the case of the canal project, bonds buyers were told (but there was apparently no written undertaking) that if and when the canal company became a viable enterprise, they would be able to convert their Bonds into equity stock in the company.

One Bonds source acknowledged that there had been "bewilderment" of late in some American circles over the fact that the Finance Ministry is clearly cooling in its enthusiasm for the canal project.

Nevertheless Israel Bonds as recently as last month was still pushing the project hard in an effort to obtain the round figure of \$100 million in "seed money" for the project.

This figure, according to Bonds sources, has almost been reached.



Modal

The expectation in Bonds circles is that the canal project will continue — but on a back burner, since the Finance Ministry plainly does not regard it as a national priority at present. The canal company will remain in existence, *The Jerusalem Post* was told last week, and research and feasibility studies will be carried out.

Four Israelis quit Warsaw

Four Israeli officials quit ceremonies in Warsaw last week on the 40th anniversary of the ghetto uprising and were to fly home in protest against PLO participation.

David Rivlin, of the Israel Foreign Ministry's cultural-relations department, told newsmen that he and three other officials — Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahmi, Avner Shalev of the Education and Culture Ministry, and Haim Kuberky, Interior Ministry director-general — lodged a protest with the Polish government before departing.

The head of the PLO mission in Warsaw, Fudl Yuseen, joined other accredited diplomats and laid a wreath at a memorial to victims of the 1943-44 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

About 300 Israelis are among some 1,000 Jews who come to mark the anniversary.

Rivlin said 10 writers and artists with the Israeli delegation are remaining in Poland, but will not take part in the official programme. The rest of the Israelis were in-

tending to carry on, starting with a visit to the site of the Treblinka death camp.

Enrlier, Lahmi said he felt betrayed by the head of the Polish organizing committee, who had not included the PLO in a list of missions asked to lay a wreath at the monument.

"There was big applause when he read that because we assumed it meant the PLO would not be there," he said. The authorities insisted the wreath-laying ceremony was not part of the official programme.

In an interview last week over Gmel Zahal, the Israel Defence Forces radio, Shalev said the PLO action has aroused a great deal of anger and confusion in Poland. The authorities had a special interest in avoiding what happened, but the memorial is in the centre of the city and people gather there daily and anyone can lay a wreath there, Shalev explained. On the other hand, the government could have avoided this offence to our feelings if it had wished, he said.

HOW CENTRAL IS THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM?

By BENJAMIN NETANYAHU

We are frequently told that the "Palestinian problem" lies at the heart of the present unrest in the Middle East. Solve this problem and you will have peace in the area. And the U.S., which is often the target of Arab hostility and criticism, will enjoy a stable and enduring alliance with the Arab world.

However plausible this idea may appear, it does not correspond to Middle Eastern realities.

Incessant Warfare

In the last thirty years, virtually every Arab state has been at war on the verge of war with at least one of its Arab neighbors. Not one part of the Arab world has escaped this grim regularity.

In North Africa, Libya has clashed with Egypt and Tunisia, threatened Sudan and financed efforts to topple other Arab regimes. Egypt under Nasser invaded Yemen and now trades threats with Kadafi. Algeria has waged surrogate warfare against Morocco using the Polisario forces in the Sahara.

In the Arabian peninsula, the two Yemens have been warring intermittently for years. Saudi Arabia, while trying to buy off all potential enemies in the Arab world, in turn seeks to dominate the smaller states of the Gulf and has pressed territorial claims against all of them. Kuwait frets over Saudi encroachment on its territory, but worries even more about Iraq which claims Kuwait in its entirety.

And in the heart of the Middle East, Syria has attacked Jordan, jostled with Iraq and has made a shambles of Lebanon in seven years of ruthless occupation.

The fact that nearly all of these states are frequently bound by treaties of unity and endless protestations of brotherhood and friendship counts for nothing. The Arab world is littered with broken agreements and treaties. At the first sign of a neighbor's vulnerability, aggression erupts against the potential victim, to be checked only by the perception or presence of countervailing power. Thus when Saddam Hussein of Iraq perceived post-revolutionary Iran as weak and ripe for plunder, he swiftly revoked the border agreement he had signed 5 years earlier with the Shah and invaded Iran's oil-rich provinces. As early as 1928, Lawrence characterized the Arab regimes as "tyrannies cemented with blood" and said that "it will be generations before any two Arab states join voluntarily." Fifty-five years later nothing has changed.

Internal Violence

No lasting peace is possible among the Arab states as long as the tendency for violence remains central in Arab political life, and every Arab regime will continue to depend on force even for its internal survival. Since King Farouk, every Egyptian ruler has been a military man, relying on the army to crush opposition. Libya is ruled by a colonel and a small clique of officers. The army runs Algeria, and Hassan of Morocco depends on the loyalty of his army to sustain his regime. In Saudi Arabia not one but two armies (they watch each other) protect the princes. In Syria, an Alawite officer corps run by Assad's brother suppresses dissent.

sometimes with mass murder as at Hamm recently. Haaseln of Jordan relies on his Belouin forces to subdue any threat to his rule. Hussein of Iraq depends on his secret police and army. Virtually every Arab leader has been the target of attempted or successful assassination. The list of victims and would-be victims includes: King Faisal of Iraq, Prime Minister Wafsi-el-tal, Kadafi, Prime Minister Nuri el-Said, President Kassem, Hussein of Jordan, Saddam Hussein, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, Assad of Syria, Hassan of Morocco, Numeiry of Sudan, Abdul Nasser of Egypt and many others.

None of these conflicts has anything to do with Israel. None of this violence has Israel as its target. Yet most of the discussions about achieving "peace" in the Middle East focus exclusively on the Arab-Israeli conflict and ignore the pervasive violence that characterizes the Arab world.

To assume that this turbulence and endemic instability will disappear, or even subside, by the theoretical resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict is to expect the impossible. Even the disappearance of Israel would not make the slightest difference.

Most discussions about achieving "peace" in the Middle East focus exclusively on the Arab-Israeli conflict and ignore the pervasive violence of the Arab world.

Rule of Intolerance

Making peace between themselves is hard enough for the Arab states. Making peace with non-Arabs is even harder. For the Arabs regard the area from Morocco to the Persian Gulf as theirs, as Arab, despite the presence of numerous peoples that make up a sizeable portion of the population — Berbers, Kurds, Copts, Druse, Jews, Circassians, Armenians, Blacks and others. These non-Arab or non-Muslim peoples can be accepted only in a state of subjugation, within a dominant Arab domain, never as independent equals. That is why the Arabs would be as hostile to any non-Arab sovereign state — say a Berber one in North Africa, or a Coptic state in lower Egypt, or a Kurdish state embracing the historic homeland of the Kurds, an ancient people with their own language and culture — as they are to the Jewish state of Israel.

While the specific enmity to Israel is deeply rooted in this general intolerance, Israel's sin is particularly odious in Arab eyes. For the Jews of Israel are the only non-Arab people that has successfully defied Arab domination and achieved independence.

Thus, the very existence of Israel challenges the concept of a unified and uninterrupted Arab domain. Even the presumed champion of Palestinian statehood, Yassir Arafat, has said: "The question of borders does not interest us. Palestine is only a small drop in the great Arab ocean. Our nation is the great Arab nation extending from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and beyond."

It is not surprising that hardly a syllable was uttered about a "Palestinian people" or about the "Palestinian homeland" in Judea and Samaria until Israel gained control at that critical strategic area in 1967. The theme of "homelessness" has been especially promoted since then and inflated far beyond its real proportion. For most Palestinian Arabs have homes. Many of them, in fact, live as full citizens in eastern Palestine, or Jordan, which constitutes nearly 80% of mandatory Palestine. Similarly, most of the Arabs of Judea-Samaria are not homeless refugees; they hold Jordanian citizenship and live in the same homes they occupied before the establishment of Israel. Seven hundred thousand work in the Gulf oil states, but are no more "homeless" than are, for example, the many thousands of Americans who work in Saudi Arabia. That a few hundred thousand remain un-integrated is because the Arab states have kept them incarcerated in refugee camps for political reasons. As long ago as 1957, Elfun Rees, the Advisor on Refugees to the World Council of Churches, noted: "I hold that, political reasons aside, the Arab refugee problem is the easiest of the postwar refugee problems to solve. By

Most discussions about achieving "peace" in the Middle East focus exclusively on the Arab-Israeli conflict and ignore the pervasive violence of the Arab world.

faith, by language, by race and by social organization, they are indistinguishable from their fellows of the host country."

Whatever remains of the refugee problem can and should be resolved by the Arab world that has created and sustained it. Should they dedicate to it a tiny fraction of their enormous resources of land and money, they could make the problem disappear overnight.

Nothing Less Than Domination

It has long been recognized that to be a minority is not necessarily a tragedy. All nations have their minorities. The tragedy is to be everywhere a minority. This was precisely the Jewish situation before the creation of the state of Israel. As for the Arabs, they employ a reverse logic. For them it is a tragedy to be a minority anywhere in the vast swath of land of the Middle East and North Africa. It is not enough for them that the Palestinian Arabs constitute the entire population of Jordan, and the western Palestinians the majority of that population. They now demand a second Palestinian state in the western part of Palestine, which would add one more state to the 21 they already have. They find it intolerable that some Arabs may live as a minority in Israel just as other peoples have lived as minorities in their midst. The only difference is that the Arab citizens of Israel enjoy the civil liberties and the rule of law (despite calumnious claims to the contrary) which are denied to many non-Arab peoples living under Arab rule.

The Palestine refugee problem is not

the cause but the result of the two major assaults on Israel's life by the Arabs in 1948 and 1967. In both those attempts Israel did not possess Judea-Samaria, which some now urge her to surrender, supposedly because retention of them is the barrier to "peace." Relinquishing Judea-Samaria, which strategically dominates the approaches to Israel from the east, would merely strip Israel of its minimum security zone and the basis of its deterrence against the bellicose Arab armies surrounding her. It would bring back the situation of May, 1967, in which Israel lived as if with a noose around its neck.

Telling Israel that the best security is peace — a peace that would depend on treaties and guarantees alone and would require Israel to surrender a crucial element of its deterrence — is to flout reality. It would be as if the United States, in exchange for Soviet promises for "peace," were required to dismantle its forward defenses which provide it with the crucial winning time necessary to protect North America from a Soviet attack. Like the United States, Israel must rely in its dealings with an implacable foe on its deterrent capability, supplied through both military might and the geographic configuration of its defenses. Anything that seriously weakens that deterrence can only increase the likelihood of war and diminish the prospects for a real peace.

A Hollow Threat

And what about the threat that if another Palestinian state is not created "moderate" Arab regimes will turn to the Soviet Union? This is a hollow threat. There is no question here of Arab "disenchantment" with the West because there was never an enchantment to begin with. The democratic way of life is repugnant to all Arab regimes. That is why there has never been a shred of democracy in any Arab country, save for tiny Lebanon where it struggles to survive against the forces of intolerance and terrorism which plague the Arab world. If there are Arab states which look to the West, it is not because of organic links but because of self-interest that cannot be satisfied anywhere else. For this reason, and this reason only, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf sheikhdoms will continue to rely on the West either for aid, or weaponry, or markets, clearly recognizing that they are too weak, and the Soviet Union too close, for them to do without American protection.

What this all amounts to is this: The ongoing unrest in the Middle East is not generated by the Palestinian problem, but by the propensity for violence in the Arab world and the general intolerance toward non-Arab peoples. Neither these tendencies, nor the need of some Arab states for the West, will be affected in any way by whether or not Israel yields up the sliver of territory (roughly the size of Greater Los Angeles) that is, however, indispensable for its defense.

The above is a reprint of an article that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* of Tuesday, April 19, 1983.

Mr. Netanyahu is deputy Chief of Mission at the Israeli Embassy and the ranking Israeli diplomat in Washington.

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PRESIDENT REAGAN'S message to Syria's Hafez Assad reportedly confirming his commitment to Israel's withdrawal from the Golan Heights under the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 242 could be the harbinger of a major new direction in Washington's Middle East policy — one that would appear to give greater recognition than in the past to Damascus' key role in the region and the singlehanded it plainly holds over America's current peace efforts.

For there can be little doubt now that Syria has been the single most effective impediment not only to Washington's bid to achieve a withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, but also to its much more ambitious plan to bring Jordan into the Middle East peace process.

Syria's effective veto over any agreement in Lebanon that would take that country out of the general Arab orbit and into a special relationship with Israel has plainly left its mark on the course of the tripartite Israeli-Lebanese-U.S. negotiations over the past few months, causing Israel to whittle down its earlier quite unrealistic goals to more or less achievable proportions.

And its equally effective veto, exercised through its protégés in the Palestine Liberation Organization, over Jordan's entry into the peace process, the basis of the initiative launched by Reagan last September, has now made it quite clear that Washington cannot afford to ignore Damascus in any bid to

Events in the last few days have emphasized the important — and potentially destructive — role which Syria commands in the search for a Middle East settlement. The significance of the Syrian dimension is discussed by two writers on these pages.

Syrian stranglehold

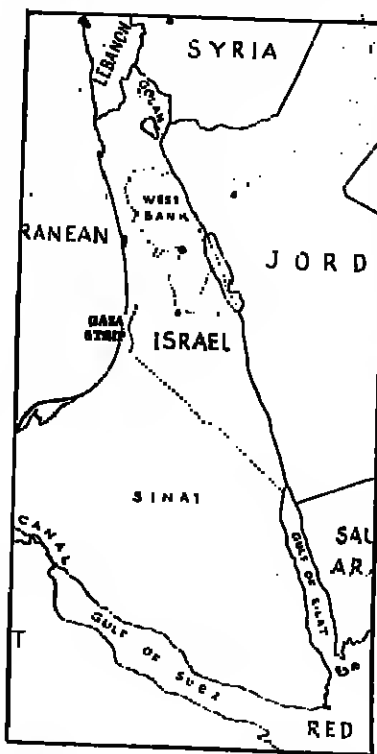
broaden the scope of its peace efforts in the region.

IT "WOULD SEEM" that Washington, no less than Jerusalem, has been made aware over the past few months of Syria's very profound strategic interests in Lebanon's eastern Bekaa Valley, and that Damascus is not likely to subordinate these interests to those of Israel in Southern Lebanon by permitting the Lebanese government to strike a deal not to its liking.

(Syria has managed to wield a very effective veto over any such deal, not through any threat of aggressive or punitive action, but simply by making it plain to all concerned that the withdrawal of its very considerable forces from northern and eastern Lebanon is not something that can be taken for granted.)

This would seem to account in part for the large measure of support Washington has given the Lebanese in rejecting Israeli demands that would plainly have been unacceptable to Damascus, forcing Jerusalem to lower its sights from something approaching a peace

By DAVID BERNSTEIN



treaty to something approaching the minimum that would satisfy its security requirements in the south of Lebanon without incurring a Syrian veto.

But at the same time, Washington has been pursuing its goals in Lebanon with almost no direct contact with the Syrians, preferring to leave these to the Lebanese themselves while apparently working behind the scenes to get Saudi Arabia to bring its vaunted financial leverage to bear on Damascus.

As a result, Washington has no assurance whatever that Syria will indeed withdraw its forces from Lebanon, regardless of the agreement finally worked out with Israel — and U.S. special envoy Philip Habib made this plain to Labour Party leaders in Jerusalem last week.

THE QUESTIONABLE nature of Washington's apparent reliance on Saudi Arabia as the major powerbroker in the Middle East while at the same time seeming to relegate Syria to the sidelines was made all too plain earlier this month, when Jordan's King Hussein finally

decided to remain aloof from the American-sponsored peace process. Not only did this reveal the limits of Saudi willingness or ability to use its financial leverage to secure Hussein the PLO mandate to enter the peace process, it also demonstrated vividly Syria's ability to torpedo any such eventuality.

The Reagan initiative, launched on the eve of last September's crucial Arab summit in Fez, was carefully tailored to bring Hussein into the peace process, with the backing of the Saudi-led moderate camp in the Arab world, by holding out the promise of loosening Israel's hold on the West Bank and Gaza and linking their future to Jordan.

It completely disregarded the fact that not only would Syria oppose any attempt to associate these territories with Jordan, with which it has long been at odds, but that it would hardly be likely to come out in support of an initiative that made no mention at all of the Golan Heights, seized by Israel, like the West Bank and Gaza, in 1967.

It is inconceivable that Washington did, in fact, expect Syria to acquiesce in the initiative, and it should have come as no surprise that Damascus would do all in its power to torpedo it — which it did, most effectively, by getting its protégés in the PLO to veto Arafat's bid to grant Hussein the mandate he sought.

What it apparently hoped to do, as Secretary of State George Shultz indicated last week, was to bypass Syria and the PLO radicals, building a moderate Arab consensus that would support Jordan's entry into

the peace process without the PLO's blessing.

Shultz even went so far as to propose that the Arabs revoke the 1974 Rabat summit resolution that recognized the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians."

All this was plainly a piece of political wishful thinking which, although clearly prompted by Shultz's obvious frustration at the setback to Washington's peace plans, revealed all too starkly the extent to which the Americans had come to underestimate Syria's role in the region and to overrate that of Saudi Arabia.

As Thomas Friedman (who has described Saudi Arabia as "the most overrated political actor in the Middle East") wrote in *The New York Times*, any move to bypass the PLO in this way would tear the Arab world apart — which, he noted, "would not be in the Saudi style. They are consensus builders, not pathbreakers."

REAGAN'S MESSAGE to Assad last week, for all Washington's subsequent attempts to play down its significance, would thus appear to represent a breath of realism in American Middle East peace-making.

It is much too early to say whether it does, in fact, signal a new direction in American policy, apparently entailing some re-evaluation of Syria's place in that policy, or precisely where this will lead in the future.

But the prominence Syria's state-controlled media gave to the mes-



Hafez Assad (AGIP)

sage last week should be read in Washington as a clear signal that it has fallen on highly receptive ears, and that if Reagan really wishes to salvage his peace initiative, a greater willingness to take account of Syrian interests will hold greater promise than continuing to pursue the chimera of a moderate Arab consensus that would exclude Syria and the PLO.

Meanwhile, banned from the peace-making process, Syria is continuing to beef up its forces, with Soviet help, in a bid to achieve "strategic parity" with Israel and increase its chances of obtaining by force what it feels is being denied by negotiation.

This process has greatly heightened the tension in eastern Lebanon in recent weeks, with another mutually costly round of fighting between the Israeli and Syrian troops in the area, either accidental or by design, a never absent possibility.

The writer is the Middle East Affairs correspondent of *The Jerusalem Post*.

as *Blad al-Sham*. The creation of Greater Syria would mean realizing the dream of the Arab glory from the early days of Islam, when the Umayyad-Caliphs (661-750) ruled from Damascus over the Islamic Empire. Then Greater Syria stretched from the borders of Arabia and Egypt to the mountains of Anatolia, and all was ruled by Arabs.

Israel is only one obstacle to realizing this dream; Lebanon and Jordan are the remaining two. But Israel is the intruding newcomer, and has to be dealt with first.

Viewing the situation in Lebanon in this background will not be complete without taking into consideration the deep Soviet involvement in Syria. That involvement naturally became more profound after Syria's painful setback in the war in Lebanon.

THE ACTIVE direct involvement of the Americans in Lebanon has supplied an excellent pretext for both the Syrians and the Soviets to intensify their mutual commitments. The pronounced Soviet presence in Syria, and its menacing symbol, the SAM-5 missiles, have a direct bearing on Syrian behaviour, which has become more self-confident and hard-line.

As the positions are now, discussions on the evacuation of all foreign forces from Lebanon are an exercise in self-delusion on the part of the Americans and the Lebanese. Syria has no intention of evacuating the Bekaa, a region seen as strategically important to defending Damascus. Besides, Syria has had claims on the region since the French annexed it to Lebanon when creating the state in 1921.

Since its entrance into Lebanon some eight years ago, Syria has been strengthening its hold on the Bekaa, which for all practical purposes has long since been transformed into

Syrian territory. All the PLO members who succeeded in fleeing from South Lebanon entrenched themselves in the Bekaa, where they came under direct Syrian control. The Shi'ite population there is also pro-Syrian, as much as it is pro-Khomeini. The Lebanese army units stationed in the Bekaa are pro-Syrian and more under Syrian command than under that of the Lebanese commander there.

CONSIDERING all this, and especially the Syrian record of dragging negotiations with Israel and the hard-line always followed in these negotiations, one concludes that the American mediators have missed the right address. Neither they nor the Lebanese have any problem with Israel, which is eager to leave Lebanon and wants only good neighbourly relations.

Israel has never claimed an inch of Lebanese territory and would be more than happy to see Lebanese authority truly returned to every corner of that country. But the Lebanese and the Americans have a big problem on their hands when it comes to Syria and to its PLO protégés, who, it seems, have intentionally been putting aside the hard task of getting out of Lebanon. Yet the Syrians and the PLO were responsible for destroying it and have been concentrating their efforts on putting pressure on Israel, who saved it.

There should be no room for doubt that as much as Israel wishes to get out of Lebanon, it can not do so without fully securing the evacuation of the Syrians and terrorists. On this minimum, there can be no compromise.

Prof. Sharon is the chairman of the department of History of Islamic countries at the Hebrew University and former advisor on Arab affairs to Prime Minister Begin.

An implacable enemy

By MOSHE SHARON

Syrian modern history, in internal politics and in the country's relations with its neighbours, particularly with Israel.

The butchering last year of several thousand civilians in Hama, members of the Sunni Moslem opposition, by the Syrian Army is only one recent example of Syria's cruelty in internal politics. The gallows in the central square of Damascus have seen the execution of many opponents of the regime. So have schoolchildren for the "educational value."

Soldiers who fell captive to the Syrians tasted their cruelty. Those not killed in cold blood soon after being captured were bestially tortured.

SYRIA LOST much of its ability to harm Israel when it lost the Golan in the Six Day War. It partly compensated for this loss by backing

terrorist activity against Israel from Lebanese soil. It also established itself in the Bekaa Valley in Eastern Lebanon, tearing away this region, for all practical purposes, from the Lebanese central authority.

The Syrians' stubborn hatred of Israel stems from Islamic roots, as does the hatred of the Jewish State of the rest of the Arab World. Like the rest of the Arab states, Syria regards the establishment of the State of Israel as an affront to Arab pride and a permanent act of aggression against the Arab "homeland."

In Islamic terms, independent Jewish rule is a tragic historical reversal, a denial of the divine Koran, which condemns the Jews to permanent misery and degradation.

But Syria has other objections to Israel. Hatred has solidified ideologically since the Ba'ath Party came to power, and especially in the years since President Hafez Assad came to power. For the so-called socialist revolutionary regime in Damascus, Israel is the embodiment of Western imperialist colonialism. Thus it is a legitimate target in the anti-colonial war so necessary for the ego of the Third World.

Under Assad's Ba'ath dictatorship, Damascus has developed the idea that Syria is the only country seriously continuing the war of independence of the Arab world. It is a war against Israel as the representative of the imperialist West, and against the U.S. in particular. It is also a war against "reactionary" forces. Success in the war against Israel must lead, according to this ideology, to success in the war for "internal freedom."

There is yet another side to Syria's ideological hatred of Israel: Syria has a claim to Israel's territory as a whole. Modern Syrian nationalism, though not much advertised, would have liked to see the establishment of Greater Syria, which includes the whole region known in classical Arab geography

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Ambivalent embrace

By DANIEL DISHON



JORDAN and the PLO seem like the proverbial couple who cannot live together-but cannot live apart either. No sooner had King Hussein's government announced (on April 10) that the negotiations it had been conducting with the PLO since October last year had broken down, than both sides declared that there was not really a break and that — a little sooner or a little later — contacts would be resumed.

It seemed like a replay of the many rifts and reconciliations between Hussein and Arafat between 1968 and 1970, or between Hussein and Arafat's predecessor, Ahmed Shuqiri, between 1964 and 1967.

To understand what was special about the cycle of Jordanian-PLO talks from October 1982 to April 1983, one must recall the mood that existed at the outset of that period. The PLO had just been forced out of Beirut; almost simultaneously, President Reagan came out with his peace plan for the Middle East. Shortly afterwards, in mid-September, the Arab heads of state reconvened for the second session of the Fez summit conference (whose first session had dispersed in utter disarray in November 1981) and unanimously adopted the "Fez principles" for a regional settlement.

On the face of it, the Reagan plan and the "principles" were incompatible: the latter affirmed the role of the PLO and the need for a fully independent Palestinian state, the former denied both. But there was some common ground in the denial by both of ultimate Israeli control over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Indeed, the Fez resolutions themselves seemed to hint at the possibility of bridging the gap between the two by speaking of the desirability of exploring "other" proposals.

KING HUSSEIN came away from Fez greatly encouraged. In his reading, the summit (if taken in conjunction with the Reagan plan) had given him a mandate to enter the peace process and to resume the role of the Palestinian problem which the 1974 Rabat summit resolutions had taken away from him and which — in his view — the Camp David Accords had not done enough to restore.

The PLO, coming to Fez fresh from the shock of losing South Lebanon and Beirut, had not been in a position to protest. More significantly, Syria, in the immediate aftermath of its own wartime calamities, seemed to have lost the veto power it had wielded so very successfully a year before at the first session of the Fez summit, when it had scuttled — virtually single-handed — the Fahd plan (the progenitor of the "Fez principles").

Hussein must have felt that the shackles that had constrained him for nearly a decade had now fallen away. The new mood in Amman was attested to most tellingly in a speech he made on September 20, 1982, soon after his return from Fez. "Jordanian-Palestinian unity," he said, would "continue forever." The Palestinian cause was "a Jordanian-Palestinian one before it is an Arab one" and Jordan would "not allow anyone...to interfere in it." In a single phrase, Hussein thus inviolated the basic significance of the 1974 Rabat decisions, viz., that the PLO was the "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinians, and that it was within the competence of an all-Arab meeting to endow it with that mandate.

IF JORDAN'S position had

changed in the wake of the war in Lebanon, so had the PLO's. It had not only lost its South Lebanese mini-state and its surrogate capital of West Beirut, but had also lost (as it had done once before, in the aftermath of the Black September of 1970) its presence among a major concentration of Palestinians and its access to a stretch of the Israeli border. Only a renewed presence in Jordan — however tenuous, however dependent on Amman's goodwill — could now compensate the PLO for that loss.

Achieving that might also lessen the PLO's dependence on Syria, against which some PLO leaders, notably Arafat himself, had strained for years. Furthermore, decreased dependence on Damascus would spell greater freedom of action for Arafat within the PLO with regard to those leaders (George Habash, Ahmed Jibril and a few others) who continued to regard Syria as the PLO's principal, or only "strategic ally" even after Damascus failed to protect the organization in Lebanon in 1982.

Most weighty of all, however, was the chronological proximity of the evacuation of Beirut, the Reagan plan, the "Fez principles" and the new tenor of Hussein's statements. They conveyed to Arafat that a settlement in the West Bank was now imminent; that it was being promoted by those actors on the Middle Eastern scene most hostile to the PLO (Israel's opposition to the Reagan plan was dismissed as a bit of play-acting intended to obscure the actual collusion with the U.S.); and that nothing worse could now happen to the PLO than a settlement reached over its head and in its absence. To get into the act meant working with Jordan, and if working with Jordan necessitated humiliating himself somewhat before the 1970 "hatchet of Palestinianism," then that was the way it had to be.

The first stage of Amman talks seems to have revolved primarily round the matter of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation.

Jordan expected ultimate authority to be vested in Amman and in the present Hashemite establishment there. Arafat, for his part, believed that the window sign

main points can be added:

In April, an American-Jordanian-Israeli agreement on the West Bank no longer looked likely. The PLO had come to understand that Jerusalem's opposition to the Reagan plan was more than a tactical game. The "danger" of a settlement without it was past, and the flexibility Arafat had deemed necessary last autumn to prevent it was no longer called for. It was this shift that prompted the inclusion of the most bitter, most resentful clause in the Jordanian statement of April 10: while Jordan, it said, had acted to stop, at the last possible moment, "the de facto annexation" of the territories, the PLO had now shown that it "did not give priority to saving the land, thus sending us back to where we were in October 1982."

Opposition to Arafat's course had been growing within the PLO while the talks were proceeding. Most groups other than his own al-Fatah objected to the proposed agreement with Hussein, and within al-Fatah, backing for Arafat was obviously not universal either. At the last moment — just as had happened on many earlier occasions — Arafat placed the preservation of PLO unity higher than a potential political gain available to him at the risk of a split. Unlike in the past, public opinion in the West, as well as some Arab leaders, seemed to take notice that Arafat was not a leader capable of delivering — not even when his own judgement urged him to do so.

Syrian pressure on the PLO also had its effect. When the talks collapsed the Syrian press rejoiced that the "plot" had failed, but called on the government to remain vigilant, lest a new attempt be made to accommodate the Americans.

The last turn of events is thus a major success for Syria and marks the restoration — in large measure — of that veto power over Arab events which Omasmas had so forcefully demonstrated in 1980 and 1981, but had — temporarily — lost in the second half of 1982.

THE APRIL 10 statement brought to a close one cycle — a particularly dramatic and incisive one — in Palestinian-Jordanian relations. By all accounts, however, a new cycle is now in the offing.

The confrontation that started almost half a century ago under the Mufi of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini and the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, was obviously still "unfinished business" for Abdullah's grandson Hussein and for the Mufi's kinsman Arafat (even though the latter had deemed it politic to shed the Husseini name).

In the last analysis, both hold that Palestine is Jordan and Jordan is Palestine.

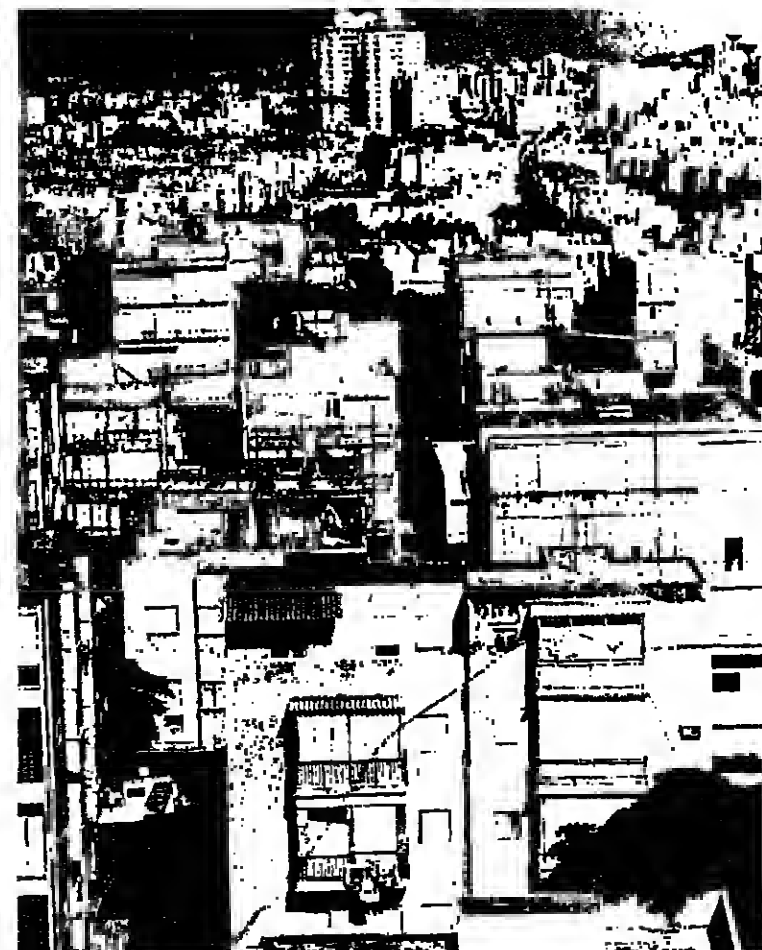
It is not on the unity of both banks that their ultimate vision differs; it is on who is to run it: the Hashemite king, his court and his "friends" (into whose circle some West Bankers might be co-opted), or the "new men" affiliated with the PLO (who, in turn, would co-opt some of those Jordanians whom they have proclaimed to be "nationalists")? No matter how many Palestinians live in the East Bank, a Hashemite Jordan can never be Palestine to them; no matter how confederate powers are defined, a PLO West Bank cannot be part of Hussein's "family." It is precisely because of their sense of ultimate unity that the two sides can neither agree nor quite let go of each other.

The writer is a senior research associate at the Shiloah Centre, and one of the editors of its annual 'Middle East Contemporary Survey'.

LIVING

Heart of a city

MICHAEL YUDELMAN takes an affectionate look at the crumbling, but still charming, core of Tel Aviv.



THE GOVERNORS of modern Tel Aviv are not fond of its beginnings. Eager for the city to be remembered only for their achievements in it, they have turned their backs on the now fading heart of things, to the crumbling yet still charming core where it all began.

Once, old-timers of Sheinkin Street say, all of Tel Aviv looked like this genteel, European-style buildings (also defined as pseudo-neo-classical, or plain kitsch), surrounded by trees, lining sprawling streets where well-dressed couples used to stroll on sunny Shabbat mornings.

That was before the great surge northwards, to uniform, cement apartments. The heart of Tel Aviv slowly withered, the attractive buildings cracked and crumbled. Every now and then a bulldozer would knock one down and in its ashes a huge cement monster would rise at frightening speed — a bank or an insurance building.

The heart of Tel Aviv has been left to die. But here on Sheinkin, Balfour, Nahmani and neighbouring streets there is life yet. The sidewalks bustle with shoppers and shopkeepers sit outside their dusty little stores. The people here have a strange, local look about them, as though they have never gone anywhere else. And why should they? Everything they might need or desire is right here.

On Sheinkin Street alone, there are grocery stores, fruit and vegetable stores, stores for bathroom appliances, wallpaper, jewelry, hooks and second-hand clothes. There are electricians, dry cleaners, watchmakers, kiosks and good, cheap restaurants; and tons of atmosphere free of charge. Where else can you find a store selling nothing but fresh farm eggs? Or a store that hires straw mats for baby cribs? Or an "artistic mender" to do invisible repairs on your clothes? There used to be other invisible repairers in Tel Aviv, says Daniel, who immigrated from Egypt 35 years ago, but his work was so much better that he drove them out of business.

There's one shop whose window, which looks as if it hasn't been cleaned for about 20 years, is filled with the most marvellous antique jewelry. But if curiosity drives you to cross the threshold, beware. The old man inside doesn't want to sell anything, and will go into a screaming and cursing fit if you ask him to show you something from the window, or if you don't buy the first thing you ask about. I managed to get the price of a junky old lamp-stand (\$1,200) and an antique-looking pearly necklace (\$150) before the toothless, screaming old man drove me out with a stick.

Wow! After an experience like that you walk straight into Abu Shukri's ("Humorous straight from the Old City of Jerusalem") for some hot Yemenite soup and humous sprinkled with pine-nuts.

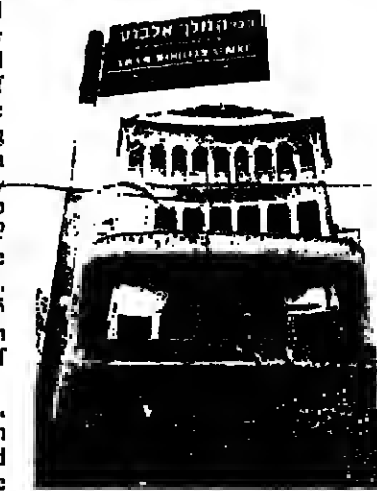
THIS IS the "second Tel Aviv," known only to the elderly residents and to a new generation of youngsters, who have discovered the charms of the area which their founding grandparents left when it became too run-down. Micha, Terem, artist, architect and engineer, aged 26, has always lived here. It was he who coined the term for this part of the city, whose main streets run mostly from east to west, as distinguished from the modern, northern part whose streets — Dizengoff, Ibn Gvirol, Ben Yehuda, etc. — run south-north.

The few cafes in the "second Tel Aviv" have retained something of

the atmosphere of old days. Unlike the stark Dizengoff cafes, which rely on the street to provide décor and liveliness, Café Tamar on Sheinkin turned inwards on itself. Its centre is inside, and its wood-paneled ceiling and among its three indoor trees. Well, trunks are all that's left of them today, but they are used to be real, large trees, famous for their foliage, triumphantly hurrying through what was a canvas ceiling to the sky. The present owner, Sarah Stern, had them cut down 15 years ago in order to provide the patio side of the café with a real roof.

Here they all used to sit — the poets, authors, journalists and dreamers of young Tel Aviv. Many still sit here whose work provides the Dizengoff café crowd with the gossip of the day. Café Tamar is an institution in Tel Aviv, and few remember how long it has been standing here. Sarah Stern, originally from Nahlat, has been running it for the past 25 years, but can't say how long it was open before that. "Don't go bothering people," she admonishes a beggar, and gives him some coins. An elderly *Davar* correspondent, who has been eavesdropping shamelessly, joins in the conversation, and tells me he used to sit here with cronies during the Mandate.

Asked about her clientele, Stern says firmly, "They're not the Dizengoff crowd. They're serious people. Young, as well as elderly, singers, artists, business people. But not bums."



THE TINY streets around Sheinkin are choked with cars, which fill the narrow sidewalks, forcing the residents to walk in the road. The gracious, dilapidated buildings, from a time when each was designed with human beings in mind, are half-filled with offices. There is still an old-world charm about the flower-pots loading the window-sills, the elaborate metal bars on the balconies and the ornate pillars at the entrances. But near every handsome building is a grey high-rise, or a gaping wound in the ground, with a deafening bulldozer shovelling earth. The roots of Tel Aviv are being torn down, its heritage buried under cement. The burnt-out eyes of the old-timers have given up hope of dying in the environment they grew up in, or built for themselves. They will die rootless, among identical boxes.

Nearby, along Nahmani Street, stands the famous Pagoda building, a unique architectural phenomenon. Maybe, that's the reason it has been standing empty so long, with cracks in the walls and parts of it destroyed. The municipality would renovate it, but the owners refuse to allow that (presumably until they receive enough "compensation"). Working on, past the magnificent old water-

tower, you reach one of the rare buildings with frescoes on the walls of its aristocratic entrance. Behind the house there is a little citrus grove, still bearing fruit.

MANY BUILDINGS in the heart of the city have a walled-in, secret garden behind them. An even better-kept secret is what Micha Terem calls "the third Tel Aviv": small houses hiding behind apartment buildings.

These houses, with their tile roofs, wooden shutters, little gardens and chickens pecking in the dirt, are a remnant of country in the heart of the city. Unseen from the street, they are known only to those whose back windows look down on them. You stumble across them looking for a short cut through backyards. Or if, chasing your dog who's chasing a cat, you duck under a hedge, climb over a fence or two and suddenly — there they are. The third Tel Aviv.

On just such an occasion, somewhere between Rashi Street and Rehov Merkaz Ha'alei Melachim, I came across the house of Harry Kaufman. Retired, Kaufman has been living here with his missus for the past 34 years, cultivating his "Far Eastern" garden. His yard, tamer than most, is filled with the most elaborate display of miniature pot-plants. Each, forget-me-nots and violets grow out of dolls' shoes, wine goblets, toy cars and even bottle-tops. Unsightly apartment buildings tower over Kaufman's house, blocking out the sun.

SOME TWO YEARS ago, the municipality announced that it would renovate and restore the heart of Tel Aviv, in order to encourage young families to move back into the city. Since then, it has done nothing but cause prices in the area to soar as a result of the announcement. People who had thought of buying an apartment in one of the old buildings cannot afford to any more.

The city's plan is to restore a number of houses of historical value and grant young couples and families convenient buying terms, something along the lines of development towns. With their usual shortsightedness, the city governors are totally ignoring the hundreds of young people who have settled in half-empty buildings, leaving apartments and rundown places all over this area. Given half a chance, they would renovate their own buildings. Attracted by the low rents in dilapidated buildings no family would move in to, by the special atmosphere, the proximity to the Bezalel and Carmel markets, and goodness knows what else, young singles are not only moving into the area, but bringing their friends. They also tend to cohabit with their mates and eventually get married and raise a family.

Single people are inclined to be much more outwardly active than married couples. They form relationships with elderly neighbours and odore the *heimlich* air of old men with hats hobnobbing on street corners, and of the neighbourhood grocery store where women in drizzling gowns and slippers meet each other.

Encouraging single people to move into the heart of the city would be much more effective than renovating just a number of buildings or even a model street, leaving the rest to crumble away. Young people are the only hope left for the feebly beating heart of Tel Aviv.

THERE IS a common denominator in all attempts to create a typology of models, or categories, to deal with the Holocaust, and that is the desire to anchor this unique phenomenon in existing mythological or historical precedents. Adam and the model of "sin and punishment," Cain and Abel and the model of man's uncurbed and unleashed freedom — these were discussed last week; they draw from the Bible, as do most of the following models:

MODEL C: The Binding of Isaac

Many other models, taken from the Bible and from Jewish thought in subsequent generations, have been proposed in an attempt to anchor the Holocaust in Jewish tradition. Upon close examination, however, one discovers that the differences between the reality and the model outweigh any apparent similarities. Take, for example, the model of the binding of Isaac, which is widely used in Holocaust literature and appears in the first words of those about to die (where these have come down to us). Despite the empathetic link we sense between "Take now thy son, thine only son, whom thou lovest" (Genesis 22:2) and the victims of the Holocaust "whom we loved," how far-fetched is the comparison? Can one imagine that it is God who commanded the binding and sacrifice of six million? And who heard the command? Did Hitler's troops hear what Abraham heard? And finally, where was the angel who cried at the last moment, "Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him?"

The story of the binding of Isaac, according to the plain reading of the text or according to the midrashim composed about it, does not fit the Holocaust, neither from the perspective of Abraham nor from the perspective of Isaac.

The use of verbal images from the story to describe motifs in the Holocaust is not a new phenomenon, however; it has many precedents in the history of Jewish martyrdom, in the poems and descriptions of the Jews who sacrificed themselves for their faith.

But it would seem that any comparison of this sort would only strengthen the supposition we made at the beginning of this essay, that the Holocaust stands alone, in its uniqueness and particularity, in the whole of Jewish history and martyrdom.

The Holocaust and the story of the binding of Isaac, with all the mystique inherent in it and the abundant commentaries written about it, will always remain two distinct and separate worlds.

MODEL D: Job

Another biblical model that comes to mind as a matter of course, and is, indeed, frequently used, is that of Job. The model can be formulated in various ways (and we have already mentioned that it is essentially invalid, because we are only "Job's brother," not Job himself). But beyond all the doubts and the attempts to deal with the central problem of the apparent lack of justice in God's behaviour which fill the book of Job, the intention of the book is clear: as God finally convinces Job, there is no reason for man to make the effort to comprehend God's ways, and, in view of that fact, it is best that man keep silent. (Job 40:3 — Behold, I am of small account, what shall I answer thee? I lay my hand upon my mouth.)

If anyone can and ought to ask questions, it is God who asks man

and not the other way around. (Job 40:7 — "Gird up thy loins now like a man, I will demand of thee and declare thou unto me.") Man must be satisfied knowing he will never understand the ways of God (Job 42:3) and may take comfort in the fact of mere contact with God (Job 42:5).

MODEL E: Silence

Silence in the presence of astonishment is undoubtedly a legitimate religious response. Indeed, the power of the question we posed and our respect for the victims obligate us to respond with silence. But, if that silence is to remain meaningful, it cannot be the silence of absolute shock that leads to paralysis of thought; rather it should be a silence which one can put into words and which then itself demands silence. This was Job's silence, silence which came after speech and not in place of it. Another example of just such a thundering silence is Aaron's silence after his two sons died "when they drew near before the Lord" (Leviticus 16:1).

This kind of silence cannot alleviate pain nor provide solace for the troubled soul. On the contrary, it contains some note of the holism born in suffering. In this manner the Sages explained the verse in Moses' song of Praise to God (Exodus 15:11): "Who is a mighty (eloi) one like unto Thee, Who is like Thee among the silent (thinim)." Here we have silence which comes not from shock and the inability or the lack of desire to question and wonder. On the contrary, it comes as an answer to the question, as a response to the wondering. This silence comes to crown an awesome and powerful mystery.

This answer to our question, silence, is the most difficult of all those proposed so far. At the edges of this silence, as it were, doubt begins to gather. Yes, I must keep silent. But, can it really be that this is God's decree? Is this possible? Has anyone in our day explicitly heard the command which was given to Moses, "Be silent!" Do we have in our day a Moses who could say to the bereaved Aaron, "Thy sons died only that the glory of the Holy One, blessed be He, might be sanctified through them?"

If the answer to these questions is in the negative — or even in doubt — then the silence is no silence. And our first question is still unanswered: Where was God during the Holocaust?

MODEL F: The Eclipse of God

Those who sought an answer found one: God "hid His face." The period of the Holocaust was the period of "the eclipse of God," in Martin Buber's modern formulation, similar to the eclipse of the sun or the moon. This model, too, is taken from the Bible, whether it is seen as one of the theological mysteries, a basic attribute of God being that He is sometimes hidden and sometimes revealed, or as punishment for the sins of mankind.

Thus we find in Isaiah (45:15): "Verily Thou art a God that hidest Thyself," and in Deuteronomy (31:17-18): "Then My anger shall be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them and I will hide My face from them, and they shall be devoured, and many evils and troubles shall come upon them, so that they will say in that day, Are not these evils come upon us because our God is not among us? And I will surely hide My face that day for all the evil which they shall have wrought, in that they are turned unto other gods."

Here is a section of the translation of the testimony of one German, as presented to the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg:

"I, Hermann Friedrich Graebe, declare under oath: From September 1941 until January 1944 I was manager and engineer in charge of a branch office in Sdobunow, Ukraine... on 5 October 1942, when I visited the building office at

Where was God?

PINCHAS PELI concludes his investigation of attempts to place the Holocaust in a religious context. The first part of this article appeared last week.



Dubno, my foreman Hubert Moenikes... told me that in the vicinity of the site Jews from Dubno had been shot in three large pits, each about 30 metres long and 3 metres deep. About 1500 persons had been killed daily... Thereupon I drove to the site... Armed Ukrainian militia drove the people off the trucks under the supervision of an SS man who carried a dog or riding-whip. They had to put down their clothes in fixed places, sorted according to shoes, top clothing and underclothing. I saw a heap of about 800 or 1,000 pairs, great piles of underlinen and clothing. Without screaming or weeping these people undressed, stood around in family groups, kissed each other, said farewells and waited for a sign from another SS man, who stood near the pit, also with a whip in his hand. During the 15 minutes I stood near the pit I heard no complaint nor plea for mercy. I watched a family of about eight persons, a man and a woman, both about 50, with their children of about 1, 8 and 10 and two grown-up daughters of about 20 to 24. An old woman with snow-white hair was holding the one-year-old child in her arms and singing to it, and tickling it. The child was cooing with delight. The couple were looking on with tears in their eyes. The father was holding the hand of a boy about ten years old and speaking to him softly; the boy was fighting his tears. The father pointed to the sky, stroked his head and seemed to explain something to him. At that moment the SS man at the pit shouted something to his comrade... I heard a series of shots. I looked into the pit and saw that the bodies were twitching or the heads lying already motionless on top of the bodies that lay before them...

The German man's testimony continues in great detail. We would have been interested to hear what the father said to his ten-year-old son, as he stroked his son's hair and pointed to the sky. Did he tell him that there is a God in Heaven who knows what is happening and who went out, temporarily, for a lunch-break and will return shortly? Did he explain to him that complex term "Deus Absconditus," the hidden God, and tell him why He was hiding just at that moment?

The order to fire given by the SS guard prevented us from hearing exactly what the father said to his son when he pointed to the sky. His words went down, together with the father himself and all the members of his family, into that pit near the city of Dubno, a pit 30 metres long and three metres deep.

MODEL G: The Death of God

Similar to the theory of the "eclipse of God" is another theory, more extreme, which talks of the "death of God." This theory does not remove all possibility that God exists nor even that He revealed Himself to human beings and to the people of Israel. This is not an argument along the lines of "there is no judgement and no judge" ("Laila din v'laila dayan" — Leviticus Rabba, p. 28), nor is it like that statement of the fool in Psalm 14:1 and 53:2, who says to himself "There is no God." Those, too, are perhaps legitimate arguments, but they are strictly outside the realm of the religious language for which we are searching. The "God is Dead" theology, which appeared in Christian thought and to a lesser extent in Jewish thought, posits that God did exist once, but at a certain moment ceased to exist, receding into a kind of permanent eclipse.

[Second of two articles.] Dr. Peli is Professor of Jewish Tradition and Values at Ben-Gurion University.

All of the Christian "God is Dead" theology, which is based on the madman's declaration in Nietzsche's book, is completely and absolutely opposed to the historical "Living God" of Judaism.

But even if this response relates to God at one horrible moment during the Holocaust, we have answered only one of the three parts of our original question. The other two parts — where was God before the Holocaust and where is He now, after the event? — are still unanswered. If "our God" is dead, what happened to "the God of our fathers"?

From the Jewish point of view, it is impossible to see God only through the eyes of one specific individual or one specific moment in history. The very name of the God of Israel implies all times, all tenses — He was, is, will be. The God of the Jews, the Creator of the world and its guide, He who made a covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, must always remain, if not within history, at least above it. Even when He is in eclipse, He continues to exist; and one can reach Him, one can penetrate the clouds with which He has surrounded Himself. He is the God of our ancestors in the past and our Living Redeemer in the future. He is bound (in spite of Himself!) to the Jewish people. He is still to be found among them, among their descendants who continue to act and create as Jews, who continue or wish to continue to stand before Him in prayer as Jews — even after Auschwitz.

Therefore, though it may well be that we shall never be able to justify the Holocaust or comprehend it, resigning ourselves to this fact does not free us from the obligation, the need to find a suitable vocabulary, so that we can talk about it and give it an appropriate meaning in religious language. This is not the language of the marketplace and the academia in which one can express anything and everything. Unlike scientific language and merely informative messages, religious language is filled with meaningful silences, as described in Andre Neher's *L'Exil de la Parole*. "Praise waits in silence for Thee" (cf. Psalm 62:2). Here silence is part of conversation, silence that incorporates a relationship with a "thou" ("for Thee") — but not silence that ends all communication and removes all possibility of discovering meaning. Truly, when we come to ask for an explanation, for the answer to our question "why?", we have no choice but to wrap ourselves in silence. But the reality of the Holocaust continues to influence our lives today, and we cannot pass over it or obscure it with silence. We have no choice but to declare our right to live, as Emil Fackenheim has said — reach for those levels of language that will enable us at least to answer the question "what?" That is, what happened in the Holocaust? How can we describe it on a metaphysical, religious plane, beyond the statistical, historical, sociological and political terminology already at our disposal?

We pose the question in the sphere of religion, but it has meaning and it is crucial outside that sphere as well, for it touches on the roots of our very existence and experience as Jews, as Jews who carry on an age-old tradition in which language is inextricably intertwined.

Those days in 1942, when the Germans seemed on the verge of overrunning the entire Middle East, have been excellently chronicled by author, journalist and former Mandatory police officer Havi Kanan in his 1974 book *200 Days of Anxiety*. It would serve as excellent food for thought for anyone who these days seeks a proper perspective on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

COMMENTARY

Political reporter SARAH HONIG condemns Polish authorities for allowing a PLO representative to take part in the ceremonies last week to pay homage to the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. She compares today's PLO to the pro-Nazi Palestinian Arabs of 40 years ago.

Poland and the PLO

The same twisted logic that could condemn the national liberation of the most downtrodden people on earth could cynically confer the title of "freedom fighters" on those who aim to destroy the national haven of those who survived the Holocaust and of their children.

Let there be no mistake — the Warsaw Ghetto uprising was largely a Zionist uprising. It was led and organized by Zionist youth movement activists who knew that the annihilation of the Jews of Europe was possible only because they had no state and no army of their own; because they were weak and helpless.

They rose in one desperate, defiant last gesture against that helplessness. They no doubt hoped that a Jewish state would be born out of the ashes. This is the very Zionist state which the PLO — as its covenant explicitly proclaims — wants to wipe off the map, and against whose inhabitants it wages a bloody war.

In line with the PLO's "new image," its chieftains are now out to liken themselves to all the world's legendary freedom fighters. But insisting on participating in the Warsaw uprising memorial goes further than such conceits. It is an attempt to dissociate the Jew from Zion and from the Jewish state.

This is only one more chapter in the Arab re-written history of the absurd, which contends that there were no Jews in all of Jerusalem's annals until 1917, or that Jesus was a Palestinian Arab tortured to death by Jews.

BUT IT IS also an attempt by the PLO to portray its members as the true spiritual successors of the ghetto heroes, doing battle with latter-day Nazis. The survivors and their descendants, of course, are cast in the role of evil incarnate.

But whose spiritual heirs are the PLO "freedom fighters"? Let's at least try to set the record straight.

To anyone who knows the history of Eretz Yisrael in the past few decades, one fact is crystal clear: Not only can the Arabs not claim the revolutionary mantle of those who rose up against the Nazis, but they were not even innocent neutral onlookers.

The plain fact is that they were among the most enthusiastic of Nazi sympathizers in those dark days. They envied the German conquest of this country eagerly. Hitler was revered by them and admiringly nicknamed Abu Ali. The nickname was subsequently transferred to Field Marshal Erwin Rommel when it seemed that his forces were about to smash their way into Eretz Yisrael.

Those days in 1942, when the Germans seemed on the verge of overrunning the entire Middle East, have been excellently chronicled by author, journalist and former Mandatory police officer Havi Kanan in his 1974 book *200 Days of Anxiety*. It would serve as excellent food for thought for anyone who these days seeks a proper perspective on the Arab-Israeli conflict.



The Mufti of Jerusalem planned to set up huge gas chambers to eliminate the Jews.

Kanan also describes how the Arabs hoarded arms and how Arab youths openly rehearsed maneuvers to receive and harbour Nazi paratroopers.

News of Allied reverses in North Africa were greeted with glee. When residents of the Palestinian town of Kalkilya were shown films of the successful British bombing of German cities, reactions were violent and the audience shouted: "It's u lie! Germany is strong! Long live Abu Ali!"

THESE WERE the sentiments of the Arab in the street. Higher-up Arab leaders were taking a far more active role in furthering the Axis cause. First and foremost among them was Jerusalem's Mufti, Haj Mohammed Amin el-Husseini, Yasser Arafat's counterpart in those days. He lived luxuriously on an estimated \$10,000 a month in his haven in Berlin and plotted his glorious return to Nazi-occupied Eretz Yisrael. But he also made other plans.

Kanan reveals (and his evidence is profusely documented) that Hussein, whose death a decade ago was mourned by Arabs everywhere, had plans for huge gas chambers to be set up in the Dothan Valley north of Nablus, in which not only the Zionist Jews of Eretz Yisrael would be annihilated, but also the Jews of Iraq, Egypt, Yemen, Syria, Lebanon and North Africa. Arabs were to run these death camps, leaving the Germans free for battlefield tasks. The mufti frequently met with

Adolf Eichmann, and he is said to have personally sabotaged a plan to exchange 10,000 Jewish children for German civilians, persuading the Nazis of the danger of leaving those young Jews alive to grow up and become Jewish soldiers.

According to Kanan, Israeli Jews at the time harboured fears of bloody Arab massacres (of the sort perpetrated by the Ukrainians on the Jews of Galicia), which surpassed their fear of the Germans.

If anything, the PLO is the direct descendant of the multi-gangs of Nazi collaborators of the 1930s and 1940s. The PLO terrorists can only pass themselves off as ghetto fighters in a cynical world which either prefers to forget, or has an astonishingly short memory, or considers history irrelevant.

Only such a world can suffer this sacrilege by the multi's present-day disciples — who still revere him and who engage in precisely the same carnage, albeit with much more cunning and sophistication.

THAT THIS mockery should take place on Polish soil only adds insult to injury. Polish anti-Semitism is infamous. All too many Poles actively helped Hitler's men in his extermination of the Jews. They rejected the "final solution." They betrayed ghetto fighters and other Jews.

The of the Warsaw Ghetto survivors told me how the Poles stood around and cheered as the ghetto and its human remnant were burned. "The Jews are trying," was their treasured shout of jubilation.

Kanan adds a local touch. He describes how many soldiers of General Anders' Free Polish Army, who were camped in the south of Eretz Yisrael during parts of the war, openly rejoiced when the first bits of news of the Holocaust trickled out of Europe. Their most common remark was that, "True, Hitler caused us great suffering, but he also gave us a priceless gift — we shall return to a Poland wiped clean of Jews."

The Polish soldiers' hostility was expressed in other ways, too. They befriended the pro-Nazi Arabs and a lively trade ensued in their camps: they sold arms to the Arabs, with which the latter would welcome Abu Ali and do their share in the extermination of the Jews.

Even in post-war Poland, when the Germans were gone, Poles hatched some of those Jews who managed to live through the Nazi inferno.

So what were the Poles thinking of when they proposed having a PLO representative lay a wreath at the ghetto uprising memorial? And, for that matter, what could have gone through the mind of the PLO representative as he did so yesterday? Was he sorry that more Jews had not perished in that hell an Poland's land? Or was he simply pleased that such was the bloody end of so many Jews? Or was he hoping to finish the job and annihilate the surviving kind and real spiritual heir of the ghetto warriors?

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IT WILL COME as no surprise that the recent conference on the teaching of evolution in the schools infuriated Shulamit Aloni, MK for the opposition Citizens' Rights Movement (CRM) and a proponent of humanism.

The conference was organized by Orthodox scientists from Ben-Gurion University who intended to demonstrate that evolutionary theory has no scientific basis. Biologists from the Hebrew University and the Weizmann Institute later complained to the Education Ministry and publicly supported scientific bodies that the organizers of the conference had solicited their professional support and public funding under the pretence that the conference was to be an open scientific discussion.

Among other things, Aloni was interested in discussing the "climate" which made such a gathering possible.

She was sitting in the CRM office in Tel Aviv, amid ad-lib furniture, and election posters and an award for human rights work from an American organization. Above her shoulder, hanging on the wall, was a small framed painting of an owl.

Like Athena — who also kept an owl around — Aloni is seen by some as a warrior, and by others as a woman of wisdom. She was blunt, energetic, and not one for subtlety.

But starting with the business of the apes, Aloni was able in present convincing evidence that most Israeli parents don't really know much about what happens to their children from the time they leave in the morning, hooks on their backs, to the time they struggle home, sticky with melted ices.

In 1978, long before this latest

Fighting humanist

conference on evolution, Zevulun Hammer, then recently installed as education minister, was asked in a *Jerusalem Post* interview why non-religious teachers can't teach secular subjects in religious schools. His answer was that they might plant seeds of doubt in their pupils' minds: "Even in the sciences, conflict between the teachers' premises and the pupils' faith would arise. Say a biology teacher would teach that man descends from the apes and was not created directly and recently in the image of God."

Now, according to Aloni, some religious people blame Darwin's theory for the permissiveness of modern society: if we're animals, we can do anything. "Once the religious used to say, 'This is the greatness of man: that (he has) developed from the apes, but his Divine inspiration.'"

Aloni says the school system's official attitude toward science wasn't first established by Hammer, rather it dates back to 1953 when the State Education Law was drafted. Some members of Knesset wanted to list the "spirit" of science, among the values the system was to imbue. But it was a reference to the "achievement" of science that won out.

What's the difference? "Achievements" refers to technological developments. "Spirit," says Aloni, refers to a critical faculty — a scientific doubt that religious fundamentalists find threatening.

One question the controversy elicits is that of the effect of anti-

In an outspoken interview with Marsha Pomerantz, Knesset Member Shulamit Aloni (picture below) argues against what she sees as "an increase of religious influence in the regular state school system."



scientific attitudes on the academic performance of pupils in the state religious schools. But the main trend that concerns Aloni now is the increase of religious influence in the regular state school system. Although non-religious teachers can't teach in the religious system, more and more religious teachers and supervisors are coming into the "secular" school system.

In 1979, a list of the 10 new supervisors appointed under Hammer was published in one of the morning newspapers: the pedagogical advisor, the head of in-service training, the head of teacher-training, the head of educational administration — all of them were religious. The result, says Aloni, has been that in secular schools, three-year-old children are taught about Yom Kippur in a way that instils fear in them, and creates suspicion, and doubts about their non-religious parents.

Perhaps she is jumping to conclusions, but she mentions specific incidents. In one north Tel Aviv school, a kindergarten teacher called parents in one by one and said she was teaching their children that there is a God, and they would be well-advised not to teach them something else at home.

In another school, children were asked to fill out a questionnaire telling when they ate their last meal before Yom Kippur, whether their family fasted, and so on.

Some children have been told that if their Daddy drives on Shabbat, he may be killed in a war.

Is Aloni saying that there should be no mention of God or the Bible in secular Jewish schools? Her response: "First, I say, don't frighten them. Three-year-olds can't sin. And second, acknowledge that there is doubt."

Referring to the Budget Law for 1983-84, Aloni notes that "there are still a quarter-of-a-million illiterates in this country, but the government

reduced the budget for adult education and increased support by 400 to 500 per cent in real terms" for the anti-Zionist Agudat Israel party — all this in keeping with the 1982 coalition agreement.

According to her figures, children in the independent schools enjoy the smallest classes and the greatest number of classroom hours. The average class size in Arab schools is 35; in state secular schools, 32; in state religious, 25; and in the independent 22.

What about the parents who feel that "something is missing" in their own spiritual lives and find it convenient that someone else, namely the schools, provides their children with certain values?

Aloni's response is that "Yiddishkeit belongs to all of us," that we are free to interpret it as we wish. But that seems to gloss over the problem of an unequal balance of conviction between the doubters and the believers.

In a newspaper article, Aloni once defined humanism as "not secularism and sin for a world-view which sees in man, in his actions, his intellect and his ethics, the central element responsible for his fate, his future and his history."

That definition may not satisfy everyone, but then it's not often that the non-religious define themselves as anything but the white space around the letters of the law.

Eventually in 1977, when the International Psychoanalytical Association held its 30th congress in Jerusalem, the Freud Chair of Psychoanalysis was established.

"Even during pregnancies and tumultuous, early child-rearing years, I managed to attend courses in studio art."

Green completed her studies in an intensive three-year programme at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

"A painter is not only influenced by other artists, but also by his tradition and surroundings," she says. "Many of my paintings are a direct consequence of the light and spaciousness of Sinai, and others by the dense space of Moslem architecture."

"My soft sculpture of Hadassah, for example, incorporates both of these influences. The triangular structure used in the construction of the table cover is a motif common in Islamic art and evocative of tent-like dwellings. It is also one of the architectural themes of the synagogue's interior."

Green received several commissions and did some work for synagogues in the U.S. before she was given the commission to do the sculpture in the medical centre's synagogue by Frieda Lewis, president of Hadassah. Prior to this, Green's works were exhibited in Boston, New York, Jerusalem, and also in Mexico.

After a number of initial studies, Green started work on her sculpture for the hospital's synagogue in August, 1981. Detailed preliminary drawings were made in her studio in Cambridge and in Jerusalem.

"The actual weaving was done over an intensive period of four months, jointly with Ruth Chae at her studio in Ashkelon. The final phase of the work took an entire month, working 10 hours every weekday in situ at the synagogue. The sculpture was permanently installed last year."

British Zionist Commission that came to Palestine in 1918 in the capacity of medical officer. Eder was the first secretary of the British Psychoanalytical Society, founded in 1913, and was a passionate devotee of Zionism, socialism and psychoanalysis.

Many educators in Palestine in the early days supported the theory of psychoanalysis. Hertz says that it still provides a frame of reference for the educational system in many kibbutzim. It is interesting to note that kibbutz ideology aimed at correcting the abuses not only of the capitalist system, but of the family as revealed by Freud.

Most people who have read *Moses and Monotheism* believe that Freud was anti-Jewish to the point of seeming to be anti-Semitic. But Hertz says that this is not correct.

"Because of his traditional Jewish background, he was preoccupied with, but ambivalent about, the land of his forefathers. But, on December 10, 1917, he wrote a letter in which he said: 'The only cheerful news is the capture of Jerusalem by the English and the experiment they propose about a home for the Jews.'"

An even more remarkable comment was made by Freud in a foreword to a memorial volume on Eder. "We were both Jews and know of each other that we carried in us that miraculous thing in common which — inaccessible to any analysis so far — makes the Jew."

In 1977, when the International Psychoanalytical Association held its 30th congress in Jerusalem, the Freud Chair of Psychoanalysis was established.

LITERATURE

AHARON APPELFELD, this year's Israel Prize winner in literature, has created literature out of the terrible silences of the Holocaust.

His delicately wrought works, portraying people living under the shadow of the Holocaust while never showing the horror itself, have become metaphors for the human condition. And after years of being appreciated by a loyal but elite readership in Israel, Appelfeld is finally receiving the greater recognition — abroad and at home — that is his due.

Translated into English by Dvora Bilu, his works have been acclaimed in renowned magazines and literary reviews. On leave from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beersheva where he teaches, Appelfeld was a visiting lecturer at Harvard University last year and made numerous appearances at other universities in the U.S.

Born in Czernowitz, Rumania to an assimilated Jewish family, Appelfeld was eight-years-old when the Nazis took his parents away.

Many years later, as an adult, he found his father in Israel. He himself managed to escape a labour camp and wandered with a group of boys through the forests of Central Europe. The experiences of his childhood — of hiding and being pursued — are present in many of Appelfeld's stories.

In his most recent novella,

A voice out of the silence



By Rachelle Furstenberg

Written of the group of boys with whom he wandered, and fled from pursuers. He was the youngest of the group and the others were protective of him.

In his novella *Sunstroke*, Appelfeld fictionalizes about the group after the war when it is brought to Israel by Youth Aliya, as the writer was himself.

He draws a surrealistic landscape to portray the comatose state of the boys after the war.

Appelfeld has no illusions about what is sometimes necessary to do to survive, nor does he have illusions about men's weakness, or his behaviour in extreme circumstances. On the other hand, the author does not exploit these things for sensationalistic effects. His flat, narrative voice distances events, gives them the hard "otherness" of destiny itself.

In his stories about the period before the Holocaust, Appelfeld's characters seem to move tranquilly toward their inevitable end, while after the catastrophe, they are portrayed bleakly, as empty shells of humanity, passively thrown about. Yet in his stories, there are also characters with life-giving qualities — such as the mother increasingly doing good works as the end draws near in *The Age of Wonders* — or, alternatively, characters who manifest vitality and deep beliefs.

Appelfeld's own adult life has, thankfully, been witness to these life-giving qualities. After spending

time in a youth aliya institution and in the army, Appelfeld, struggling against poverty and isolation, studied Yiddish at the Hebrew University. A language disdained in his own assimilated home, it was his way of affirming the Jewish identity for which he had suffered. This theme of affirming one's Jewish identity runs through his life and work.

Appelfeld's works began to appear in Hebrew literary magazines in 1959. His personal life also began to develop. While teaching at the Machon Greenberg Seminar for Teachers in Ashdod, he met his wife, Yehudit, a warm and spirited drama student from Argentina. They have three children, and a rich family life. Their eldest son, Meir, a sensitive violinist, is now preparing for *Bugat*; Yitzhak, the second child, is 14, and their daughter Haya is seven.

The musical interests of his children reflect Appelfeld's own lyricism. His works are built like musical compositions, with images and themes repeating themselves in subtle variations throughout, and the narrative becoming deeper and more intense as it proceeds.

The recent acclaim Appelfeld has been receiving, particularly in the

United States, is indicative of a "Holocaust consciousness" that has swept America, often replacing "Israel consciousness" as a "time-of-Jewish identity. But Holocaust by vulgar, sentimental and sensationalistic accounts of World War II, the sensitive reader welcomes Appelfeld's oblique and refracted literary style.

The warning, even moving reception he has received in the United States might still be seen as somewhat of a surprise, considering Aharon Appelfeld's implied criticism of the assimilated Jew. In lectures to academic groups during his visit there, Appelfeld did not hesitate to relate that he felt that, from an assimilated home, the humanistic values of his family were betrayed by the obscene events of World War II.

Strangely, rather than protesting, many Jewish intellectuals perceived parallels to their own situation and queried, "Do you think that it can happen here?" There is a great irony in this for it is the intellectual that did not believe "that it can happen here" that Appelfeld has depicted in some of his books. He meticulously exposes the weaknesses and myopia of the self-bettering Jew in Europe before the war.

Aharon Appelfeld's work is a metaphor for the human condition, as well as a voice recording the most horrendous of all experiences.

Synagogue art

Macabee Dean talks to an Israel-U.S. commuter

natural interest in religion which stems from the fact that her family tree is studded with famous rabbis — including her own father.

Green's father and mother originally came from Lithuania and Poland, respectively, and settled in this country when it was still Palestine. Her mother served as a nurse for Rabbi Kook during one of the famous rabbi's illnesses; Green's father was a student in Kook's yeshiva. When the two married, Rabbi Kook even wrote them a long, handwritten poem, which is still a treasured Green family heirloom.

Eventually, the young couple

decided to go to the U.S. for economic reasons, and they settled in Washington, D.C., where Green's father served as a rabbi. Born into an Orthodox household in that city, Green herself became interested at an early age in art despite the fact, she says, that "art and being a rabbi's daughter just did not mix."

Criticism against her interest in art was harsh, Green recalls, adding that she nevertheless decided to go ahead, proving that it was possible not only to study art and be an artist within the strict boundaries of Orthodoxy, but also to give artistic expression to various aspects of Orthodoxy.

Beyond psychoanalysis

'The Post's' Philip Gillon marks a milestone

jack-hooded legions were beginning their march.

But Professor Dan G. Hertz, the present president of the Society and the director of the Psychiatry Clinic of the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Centre, says the notion's psychoanalysts feel that this milestone is indeed an occasion for rejoicing.

"In fact," he says, "an interest in psychoanalysis preceded the founding of the Society by several decades. Max Eitingon — a great friend of Freud — came to Palestine in 1910 and thought of setting here,

but eventually decided to go back to Germany. He never lost his interest in Zionism, and eventually returned to make his home in Jerusalem in 1933."

In 1920, in a letter to Ernest Jones, Sigmund Freud wrote that he had heard from Chaim Weizmann that immigrants from Eastern Europe arrived in Palestine with few clothes and personal belongings — hut with copies of *Das Kapital* and *The Interpretation of Dreams* under their arms.

Weizmann invited Dr. David M. Eder to serve as a member of the

British Zionist Commission that came to Palestine in 1918 in the capacity of medical officer. Eder was the first secretary of the British Psychoanalytical Society, founded in 1913, and was a passionate devotee of Zionism, socialism and psychoanalysis.

Many educators in Palestine in the early days supported the theory of psychoanalysis. Hertz says that it still provides a frame of reference for the educational system in many kibbutzim. It is interesting to note that kibbutz ideology aimed at correcting the abuses not only of the capitalist system, but of the family as revealed by Freud.

Most people who have read *Moses and Monotheism* believe that Freud was anti-Jewish to the point of seeming to be anti-Semitic. But Hertz says that this is not correct.

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